The Nation.

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The Week.

Governor Odell's appointment of Judge Cullen, a Democrat, to be Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals in succession to Judge Parker foreshadows the action of the Republican Convention in nominating Judge Cullen and Judge Werner for the two vacancies in the court. There is, we are aware, considerable opposition among Democrats to the plan proposed by the Republicans. Hill has never forgiven Judge Cullen's decision against him when Hill tried to steal the Legislature; and Democratic workers cannot forget that Judge Werner has been something of a politician, and that he ran against Judge John Clinton Gray in 1902. But, granting all that may be urged against Judge Werner, the ticket proposed by the Republicans offers the most practicable plan for removing the judiciary from politics. The Republicans refused to support Judge Gray two years ago, they were badly beaten, and they have learned their lesson. If the Democrats refuse to nominate Judge Cullen and Judge Werner, they will be taught another lesson of exactly the same kind; and they will put at hazard both the national and the State tickets.

The Wisconsin Democrats had such an opportunity as does not occur twice in a politician's lifetime to make a successful campaign on lines of their own with a high-class candidate. In a situation offering so many possibilities, it would be folly to assert that by nominating George W. Peck for Governor they have thrown away their chance, yet much may be said in favor of this contention. To begin with, the Democrats propose to attract the votes of Republicans who bolted on the third-term issue by nominating a candidate who has already served two terms himself. They voted down squarely at the same time planks for the direct primary and the railroad commission, the issues from which La Follette draws the most earnest and soundest element of his following. The "fair-minded Democrats," to use his own phrase, to whom the Governor has so successfully appealed in the past, will see small reason for returning to their old affiliations. Instead of going into the fight on principles of its own, it looks uncommonly as if the Wisconsin Democracy had merely allied itself with one of the sides in the Republican quarrel.

Senator Lodge must realize that if he had spent less time last winter in helping the President "do things," and more in trying to understand what the people of Massachusetts were thinking about, his lot to-day would be a good deal happier. Concerning markets—except, possibly, the Gloucester fish market—he appears to have known little and cared less. But the people of Massachusetts have the storekeeper's instinct; the bulk of them are vastly more interested in driving a good trade than in the right of Panama to secede from Colombia or of the President to construe pension laws. What they desire more than anything else is a chance to barter with Canada. But when certain of them went to the Republican State Convention last spring and declared what they wanted, Lodge laid down the law to them with ill-concealed contempt, and told them there was no place for their views in the party platform. He forgot that in the past the people of Massachusetts had insisted on doing their own thinking. They promptly showed him that, after all, they were the real masters of the situation, by getting more than half the Republican voters of the State to line up for Canadian reciprocity. Some weeks ago Lodge saw his mistake and tried to remedy it. He has made all kinds of contradictory speeches, with the intent to square himself with the party. The leaders of the Republican reciprocity movement are determined, however, to have the thing down in black and white. Delegates to the State Convention in October are asked to vote for a resolution favoring the policy so ignominiously rejected, under Lodge's direction, in the spring. It will tax his ingenuity to escape from the dilemma gracefully. The voters are against him, and he knows it. He cannot offer them a Chicago platform type of reciprocity—"without injury to *any* American industry"—for his malicious opponents expressly ask the delegation to the State Convention to recognize reciprocity, though realizing "that no treaty can be made which may not affect injuriously *some* interest." Such details break in rudely on the quiet of a great statesman intent on widening the bounds of civilization.

The July trade statement is not, we fear, a very strong argument for the Chicago platform. Even in the face of adverse weather conditions the "party of prosperity" ought to have been able to keep agricultural exports from falling off $12,104,321. The Democrats affirm that it was Providence which vouchsafed us the great prosperity of recent years; the Republicans say it was the Dingley tariff. If it was the latter, it has recently been acting very capriciously with our farm products. But be that as it may, one act of charity will cover a multitude of sins, and the party of protection has been very good to American mills. Why, look! our exports of manufactures increased $5,244,658 for July, and for the first seven months of the fiscal year there was a gain of nearly $41,000,000, the total movement being $285,495,728. But does even this showing denote that protection is a blessing? If a large part of these exports represent dumping, that denotes prosperity for neither domestic manufacturer nor for domestic consumer; it indicates that we are furnishing foreigners cheap products to be used in competition against us later on. If only a small part is "dumping," the clear significance is that our manufacturers can stand on their own legs and need no prop—nay, that they would lead a far more vigorous life if freed from tariff crutches.

A striking change has recently taken place in our cotton cloth exports. In April those to China had practically reached the point of annihilation, amounting to only a little over 1,000,000 yards, against about 34,600,000 in the same month of 1903. Since then there has been a better tendency, and by June the exports had mounted to 9,024,100 yards, against 10,351,623 yards the previous year. July, however, made the situation look quite like old times. Shipments amounted to 17,244,010 yards, against only 9,751,868 yards last year. It is worth noting that our total exports of cotton cloths for July showed practically no change from 1903. It follows, therefore, that there must have been some good-sized losses to offset the gain in China. Trade with South America fell off sharply, and this is true also of the Asiatic trade outside of China. Exports to "other Asia and Oceanica"—practically all of Asia except China, Japan, and British India—for example, declined from 3,684,428 yards to 96,265 yards; those to British India from 937,802 yards to 97,500 yards. British Africa was also a very poor customer. On the other hand, Cuba took nearly eight times as much as last year—namely, 1,675,690 yards, against 219,970 yards. Briefly, there has seldom been a month of more conflicting features in connection with our exports of cotton goods.

The steel situation is equally conflicting. The starting up of various mills in one quarter or another has been chronicled as a hopeful sign, and yet it is not always easy to reconcile this with the admitted facts in the case. Other things being equal, it is not surprising that a larger activity should follow a drastic cut in prices. But other things seem to be far from equal in the case

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of some of the steel plants. They appear to have had much the same experience as the cotton mills; as prices for their products have dropped, consumers have held off from purchasing in hopes of obtaining even larger concessions. It is somewhat puzzling, for instance, to know just why one large plant with 1,200 men should have resumed operations in the face of previous admissions that its heavy cut in prices had done very little towards stimulating orders. The fact that the beam and plate pools failed to reduce quotations on Thursday is exciting comment, as the Steel Trust is reported to be distinctly in favor of a cut —a surprising fact in itself—and as it is believed that prices are bound to come down anyway before long. The rail situation gives rise to a number of interesting questions. Will the nominal quotation of $28 a ton be reduced in the actual selling price? Can actual prices be easily cut, in view of the guarantees against reductions given on large sales earlier in the year? Another query is: To what extent will the new Canadian tariff regulations check the export of American rails?

At first sight, the sudden burst of virtue exhibited in the resolutions of the Building Trades Alliance at its mass meeting on Wednesday of last week indicated a healthier tone in the organization. The Alliance was formed by a number of walking delegates for the purpose of wrecking the arbitration plan of July, 1903. On the first day of the present lockout, the Alliance, in vexation, passed resolutions which said in conclusion:

> "Resolved, That the unions affiliated with this Alliance declare that the general arbitration plan is no longer in operation, and has no binding force upon said unions."

On August 31 the resolution began:

> "Resolved, That the Building Trades Alliance, in mass meeting assembled, do declare themselves unalterably in favor of the great principle of arbitration as the means of settling disputes between employers and employees."

Unfortunately, this lofty declaration was intended only as introductory to the dictum that "the right of the trades organizations to defend themselves against non-union men and non-union material shall never be questioned or be a subject-matter of arbitration." Herein lies the shibboleth of all unionism—that the right of man to labor shall be regulated solely by the unions. The seriousness of the war in the building trades depends wholly on the strength of this mischief-making alliance in standing up to its position. Signs of its disintegration have already been received with welcome, and a general strike-weariness on the part of the individual unions portends a quick end.

Brig.-Gen. W. H. Carter, commanding a department in the Philippines, in his annual report furiously assails the existing order of civilian rule, under which the troops cannot act except when called upon by the civilian authorities. This supremacy of the Philippine Commission, he says, illustrates "the extremely unfortunate condition of affairs in these islands." Instead of their being in a peaceful and happy condition, as the Administration would have us believe, Gen. Carter affirms that there has been an attempt at insurrection or revolution made in his own department. Moreover, he declares that "it is not unlikely that such efforts may be repeated from time to time by malcontents." Under the present system, he thinks such an uprising might attain very serious proportions before the troops could be called out. Moreover, this military subordination "delays the Americanization of the islands." He calls loudly for permanent barracks on the astonishing ground that "temporary construction and makeshifts of every kind only serve to develop and confirm in the minds of the Filipinos the idea that the Americans do not intend to hold the islands permanently." Evidently, Gen. Carter is a long way behind the times, and does not realize that we are in the midst of a Presidential campaign. Somebody ought to cable him quickly extracts from Secretary Taft's latest speeches hoping for Filipino independence at some time in the future.

The colonies are taking Mr. Chamberlain about in the way he is shrewdly suspected to be taking himself. They affect the greatest enthusiasm for imperial federation and its corollary, preferential trade between the mother country and themselves, but go ahead with their practical affairs as if these were projects to be discussed only out of business hours or on the stump. Reduced to the baldest terms, Mr. Chamberlain's original message to the colonies was this: We will apportion the business of the Empire, and you shall raise the crops, while we at home do the manufacturing. That is, "secondary industries"—manufactures—were out of place in the colonies, and it was hoped the latter would appreciate the fact. To be sure, the late Colonial Secretary has recently been telling the farmers of Great Britain he was going to do something for them; but this has not raised a rumpus in the colonies—scoffers will perhaps say it was because nobody there takes the Chamberlain proposals seriously, anyway. An amusing feature of this whole business is that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is considering a proposal to open an office in London for the exhibition of Dominion manufactures. The "secondary industries" part of the Chamberlain scheme appears, indeed, to have been entirely overlooked by the Canadians. It is to be feared that the Tariff Commission will have to issue an appendix, bringing the "dumping" question up to date.

The congress of the International Socialists at Amsterdam pretty well resolved itself into a contest between M. Guesde and M. Jaurès. The leader of the "Reds" pressed constantly before the meeting the famous Dresden resolution of 1900, which declares the essence of Socialism to be the war of classes, and condemns all compromises between Socialist groups and existing political parties. This was primarily a blow at M. Jaurès, the chief of the "Yellows," the ally of a Radical Ministry, and practically the leader of M. Combes's composite majority. Incidentally, it was a rebuke to most of the English delegates, who, in advanced constituencies, are always ready to combine with the Liberals; it touched also the Belgian and Italian Socialists, who generally are ready for any coalition that promises benefit to their class. In fact, under any strict reading of the Dresden resolution it is doubtful if any Socialists except the Germans could qualify as orthodox. M. Jaurès's whole career as an opportunist was so clearly at stake that it is not surprising that the occasion called out all his powers as an orator. He ridiculed, with more truth than tact, the doctrinaire attitude of the French Reds and the German Social Democrats. These latter, he observed, had neither given their lives on the barricades nor their wits in Parliament. They lay helpless with their doctrines under a feudal and oppressive rule. In France, on the contrary, Socialism might build on the Revolution and on universal suffrage; nay, it owed a duty, while furthering the complete liberation of the proletariat, to reform also the bourgeois State.

It was an eloquent appeal for what has been the successful socialism of the past, and must be of the future, if indeed the future lies at all with these visionaries; but it was an error unworthy of an opportunist to raise odious comparison between France and Germany at an international conference. At this point internationalism broke down, and Herr Bebel took up the cudgels for the *Vaterland*. To Jaurès's boast of the superiority of the French Republic, Bebel retorted caustically: "Napoleon's *Coup d'État* gave you back the universal suffrage you had lost; Bismarck gave you your Republic." Naturally, such passages at arms hardly made for fraternity. A conciliatory motion was lost by a tie vote; the Dresden motion, shorn, to be sure, of its more drastic verbiage, was passed by an overwhelming majority. Jaurès's fling at the Germans had turned what might

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have been a mere filibustering motion of the Guesdists into a substantial rebuke. International socialism stands to its theory of no compromise with the bourgeois State, and of unrelenting proclamation of the war of classes. But it would be foolish to take this action literally. The same convention that condemned gradual conciliatory methods practically voted against the principle of the international strike—surely an effective method of fomenting class enmity. And one should not forget that the fact that opportunism could be calmly debated at a Socialist convention shows that the party has gone far from Marx and Prudhomme. There is no likelihood that the resolution condemning the opportunists will be of the slightest practical effect. Jaurès, beaten in the congress by Guesde, will continue to control the Socialist arondissements and to make his bargains at the Palais Bourbon. In fine, the reaffirmation of the Dresden resolution emphatically does not mean a return to a revolutionary programme.

Baron von Mirbach has at last been forced to resign his positions as secretary of the German Empress's cabinet, administrator of her funds, and head of her church-building societies. Ever since the criminal failure of the Pommern Bank of Berlin and the revelations that his societies had received very large sums from the bank wreckers, there has been a widespread demand for his retirement. This he met by declaring that he never read the newspapers or paid any attention to them. There were also well-authenticated rumors that when he offered his resignation to the Emperor some time ago, he was met with the remark: "You don't think that I would sacrifice you to public opinion?" But the Von Mirbach scandal grew worse instead of better. Revelations of his activity as a collector of charitable funds by means of Government agencies and officials, as well as by the judicious bestowal of decorations, came from all quarters. All efforts to excuse him only brought out new facts, which, among other results, seriously besmirched the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Baron von Hammerstein, whose connection with the matter is to be investigated by the Chamber of Deputies. Furthermore, Von Mirbach has figured in the courts in connection with the settlement of an estate of which he was the administrator. Not even in Germany could such an official be retained in office.

German newspapers abound in horrifying tales of the ill-treatment of soldiers by brutal officers and non-commissioned officers. In Pillau an artillery lieutenant has been punished for making a soldier carry a heavy part of a breech apparatus around the drill ground in his mouth. In Glogau a military court has been investigating the death of a soldier who was so barbarously treated that he threw himself before an express train to escape his tormentors. It was proved that a sergeant had ill-treated him no less than 137 times. In nearly every case this brute struck his victim, and now and again he starved him. Altogether the sergeant was punished for 251 offences by imprisonment for only a year and a half, while a corporal of the same company went to jail for one year for 240 offences—both ridiculously light sentences in view of the devilish tortures inflicted. There is a general outcry in the liberal press against these and similarly inadequate sentences. This feeling of dissatisfaction has been increased by a remarkable order (recently published by the *Vorwärts*, the leading Socialist organ) in which the Emperor ordered secrecy in trials similar to that of Lieut. Bilse, the author of the now famous novel, 'In a Small Garrison.' It is rightly held that the army can be properly purged of wrongdoers only by letting in the light of day and by focussing public attention upon the evils complained of.

Rumors of a new Russian loan are rife. One is that the Czar's Government has practically arranged to borrow 500,000,000 rubles, or about $250,000,000, in Germany. It is added that, as might be supposed, the interest rate will be higher than on the last issue. Last spring Russia arranged for a large 5 per cent. loan in Paris at considerably less than par. Since then her arms have met with constant reverses, and her alleged financial strength has been discussed with keener and keener criticism in Berlin and London. The sharpest minds in European finance frankly confess that they are all at sea regarding the real situation. The distrust with which the optimistic statements emanating from St. Petersburg are received in foreign money centres is clearly indicated by recent press comments in Berlin. Not long ago the St. Petersburg *Official Messenger* declared that, on May 13, $150,000,000 was available for war purposes; that $128,750,000 had in the meantime been credited to the various departments of administration, and that the profits of the Paris loan of $160,000,000 had therefore not been drawn upon. In Berlin this statement is regarded as "unintelligible." It is considered incredible that only about $120,000,000 should have been spent during the first six months of the war; and it is also regarded as very curious that a new loan should be offered in the face of the Government's claim that it has at least $160,000,000 still in hand. Indeed, there has been a feeling in Berlin lately that the Russian State Rente bonds—it was said the new loan would be of this class—might be regarded "as nothing but a species of paper money."

The steady driving of Kuropatkin's army northward leaves even the chronicler breathless. The first blow in the strategic movement which has forced the Russians into their present harassed and contested retreat upon Mukden was struck more than a month ago, on July 31, when Kuroki stormed and held the positions which commanded Anping and the valley of the Taitse. On the second of August, Nodzu, after a stiff fight, took Simucheng, thus outflanking the Russian position at Haicheng. A prompt retreat to Anshantchan placed Kuropatkin's forces in a great semi-circle of about twenty miles radius, of which Liaoyang was the centre, Anping the northern, Anshantchan the southern node. This position permitted the junction of Nodzu, who had come from Takushan by way of Siuyen, with Oku, who had come from Port Adams. Nodzu naturally took the centre along the railway, Oku the left along the roads from Niu-Chwang to Liaoyang, leaving Kuroki as a widely detached right entrenched near Anping. The next important operation was the shifting of the Russian front. Their right at Anshantchan was vulnerable to an attack from Niu-Chwang. On August 5 the advance of Oku from Haicheng was the signal for the Russians to extend their right toward the northwest and the Taitse, making the semi-circle of defence face south instead of southeast. It was in this formation, with a much shortened radius, that they fought a great battle. In the early weeks of August Kuroki was constantly conducting small operations towards the Taitse. On August 17 he moved his right wing to a point still further north of Anping. On August 19 Oku and Nodzu pressed the Russian rear guard at Anshantchan. Then there was a pause of about a week.

On August 25 and 26 there were preliminary attacks by the two southern divisions of the Japanese—virtually outpost engagements, which forced the Russians out of Anshantchan to the ridge they had elected to defend ten miles below Liaoyang. On August 30 and 31 ensued the awful artillery duel along the whole front, which seemed to end with equal honors. That night Kuroki crossed the Taitse on pontoons, sent one division down the river, threatening the bridges over the swollen stream, and another towards the north, where a branch line to certain coal mines would give ready access to the Mantchurian railway. Kuropatkin's only possible course was precipitate flight across the Taitse. The certain consequence was the abandonment of Liaoyang, with large destruction of stores and material, and the resumption of the retreat amid the greatest possible depression of spirits. Will Kuropatkin still find his unresting and provident foes both clinging to his rear and cutting off his advance?

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THE NEW VOTER.

This is the trying season for the first voter. Every self-respecting newspaper of either party thinks it a duty now to deliver to him a few appropriate words of warning and exhortation. In phrases which bring back only too vividly the baccalaureate addresses of an earlier season, he is reminded of the great responsibility that is his when he enters the polling-booth. Rival managers try to organize him into clubs, his morning mail begins to be filled with badly printed speeches under the caption, "Part of *Congressional Record*—Free," while the American Protective Tariff League, taking personal charge of him at once, tries gently to lead him beside the still waters of Dingleyism. The ingenuous young man naturally begins to regard himself as a prominent citizen.

So he is, in fact. His vote determines not only the remote, but the immediate, future of the country. In practically every election since the era of good feeling, the men who never cast a Presidential vote before have held the balance of power. It is computed from actuarial tables that approximately one-sixth of the national electorate is renewed in each four-year period between Presidential elections. When so many factors are liable to affect the total vote, the conclusions on this basis are necessarily rough, but it may be assumed that approximately 16 per cent. of the voters who choose between Parker and Roosevelt this fall did not have the chance to vote for McKinley or Bryan, while about 5 per cent. have never before voted at all.

The way to realize the importance of this 5 per cent. is to look at the proportion of voters who must be won over in each of the States necessary for a Democratic victory. Taking the total vote of 1900 in the States carried by McKinley as a basis, a change of 1½ per cent. would carry Utah for the Democrats, 2½ per cent. would carry Indiana and Nebraska, 3 per cent. Maryland, 3½ per cent. Kansas and Ohio, and 4¼ per cent. Illinois. Added to the votes of the States carried by Bryan in 1900, this makes, on the new apportionment, 259 electoral votes, or 20 more than is necessary to elect. Changed political conditions make Kansas and Ohio, at least, far more strongly Republican at present than these percentages would indicate, but a change of 4½ per cent. would add Delaware to the list, and 5 per cent. would carry New York and West Virginia, making 308 electoral votes. Thus in no State which is fighting-ground this year, except Wisconsin, does the percentage of votes which the Democrats need to win over exceed the probable percentage of voters who have come of age since the last election, though about half of the latter are presumably of Democratic antecedents and will merely fill the gaps in that party's ranks.

This calculation uses the total vote as a denominator. Figuring from the Republican vote alone, the importance of the new voters is just as clearly shown. Considering the well-known views of the head of the Administration, it is safe to assume that the rate of increase in Republican families is at least as great as the general average. Thus, the places of some 16 per cent. of the men who voted for McKinley in 1900 will be filled by new men, and about 5 per cent. by first voters. Now the Democrats must win over 2½ per cent. of the Republican vote in the last election to carry Utah, 3½ per cent. for Nebraska, 4 per cent. for Indiana, 5½ per cent. for Maryland, 6½ for Kansas and Ohio, 8 for Illinois, 8½ for Delaware, and 9 for New York and West Virginia. Experience shows that the shift of votes between elections, while very different in amount in different States, is generally in the same direction. Taking the country over, if the Democrats can make 32 converts among every 400 Republicans, they will carry enough States to win. And out of every such group of 400 presumptive Republicans there will be this year more than 60 who have never voted in a Presidential election, and about 20 who have never voted at all. This is the new voter's status in a nutshell.

There has been much speculation as to the probable disposition of the one-sixth of the electorate which has come on the stage since 1900. *Harper's Weekly*, in this connection, has offered the suggestion that, while Gold Democrats who voted for McKinley in 1896 and 1900 may return to their old allegiance this year, their sons, who started their political life by voting the Republican ticket, will stick to it. It is easy, argues that journal, to influence a boy's mind in the years just preceding his majority, but hard to change him back again after he has reached man's estate. Whatever force this ingenious theory may have, it applies less to the "brand-new" voters than to those who cast ballots in local or Congressional elections in 1901, 1902, and 1903. The little family drama, half a million times reënacted, on which the theory of parental influence is based, has been somewhat modified during its long run. The twenty-four-year old son of a Gold Democrat left his father's guardianship, let us say, at a time when that father felt so strongly the momentary danger of his party's leadership that he had for a second time voted against the party of his choice. The twenty-one-year-old son, however, passed from under parental control at a time when the parent realized that the curse was off and was prepared to resume his old associations. It is risky to decide elections in advance by inferring what has happened at the voter's fireside, but if speculation is to be indulged in along that line it does not all point one way.

One thing, however, it is safe to assume: The voters who have grown up since the two campaigns in which free silver figured, come they of Republican or Democratic antecedents, are the last men to be frightened by the efforts of Roosevelt's managers to raise up again the bogies of those years.

LODGE AND REPUBLICAN "FLEXIBILITY."

Tolstoy, in describing a battle, relates that, when the officers came to recount their exploits, each narrated his part not as he played it, but as he would have liked to play it. That is the way Republican leaders are now discussing the gold standard. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, for example, stated recently that "on the gold standard the people want no flexibility of opinion." In that case, Republican leaders should cry to the mountains and rocks: "Fall on us and hide us!" Charles S. Hamlin, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Cleveland, has been incited by Lodge's statement to overhaul the records. The Senator rebuked the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate because twenty-eight years ago his financial views were not the same as now. "But, surely," says Mr. Hamlin, "twenty-eight years is rather far back to go; we do not need to go so far to find many differences of opinion on financial questions by Republicans of good standing." The orthodoxy of the Home Market Club will not be questioned; the Club may honestly exclaim, "After the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee!" And yet no longer ago than 1894 it passed resolutions to show the West that it looked on free silver with no special aversion.

But where was Lodge himself in 1894? Mr. Hamlin does not tell us, but the *Congressional Record* does. On May 9, 1894, the Wilson tariff was up for discussion in the Senate. Then occurred one of the most puerile scenes in the history of Congress. Lodge brought forward his silly resolution to club Great Britain into an international agreement for the coinage of silver. A grave debate on a question of great public importance was delayed while he pressed a measure for the maintenance of a double tax on goods from Great Britain until she should do something for silver. Lodge had no love for the Wilson bill, but it afforded him a means of drawing the attention of the coutnry to his fervid devotion to the white metal. In discussing his resolution he said: "The only question I desire to speak of is the practical question, What can we do to promote the bimetallism to which *we all profess to be devoted?* The one obstacle across the path of bimetallism is England." Did a more demagogical utterance than this ever fall from the lips of William Jennings Bryan: "The

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only way in which we can reach England, the only way in which we can impress upon her the belief that we feel the necessity of some change in the situation, is by attacking her moneyed interests, by attacking her business, by closing to a certain extent our markets to her products and those of her colonies"?

No flexibility on the gold standard wanted! What, then, will become of Henry Cabot Lodge? Look at his record. He is credited with having drafted the Republican platform this year. The party, it runs, entered upon its present period of supremacy in 1897. "We then found the country after four years of Democratic rule in evil plight." Why was it in evil plight? Because of that silver agitation in which Lodge had played so conspicuous a part. Can any one review that period without recalling the heart of grace which the most fanatical of the silverites gained from his advocacy of bimetallism? "Boston bimetallism" was in those days a sharp thorn in the flesh to that band of sound thinkers who were striving by precept, as President Cleveland was striving by example, to educate the country to the danger of silver.

The Chicago platform declares: "We firmly established the gold standard." But what are the real facts? It is necessary to go back at least to 1890 for them. There is not a doubt that the price of the McKinley tariff was the Sherman Silver law. The protectionists in Congress had to pay this price, and a Republican President had to ratify the bargain by signing the measure that was to produce the panic of 1893. That is certainly not a record for any one who hates "flexibility" on the currency to look back to. The silver measure of 1890 became law by the grace of that party which now views with horror Mr. Henry Gassaway Davis's financial heresies of twenty-eight years ago. It required all the effort of a Democratic President to erase it from the statute book. But while he could get the law out of the way, he could not head off its results. He could not keep the wild speculation created by it from a frightful collapse; he could not save the industries of the country from prostration; he could not, therefore, prevent the public revenue from declining. Despite his every effort, the credit of the nation suffered; and when things were at their worst, when the creditors of the Government were demanding pay in gold and its debtors were settling almost exclusively in other kinds of money, such men as Lodge were making the situation worse confounded by their ill-considered talk about a larger use of the white metal.

It was an easy thing to "firmly establish the gold standard" after President Cleveland's long, thankless, up-hill struggle for its maintenance. The Republican party, as a party, started to fight the Presidential campaign of 1896 on another issue. It was actually forced by public opinion to recognize that silver was the only possible issue. Its leaders and campaign speakers, from Tom Reed down, had to go to school and learn what sixteen to one meant, and why too much silver was a peril. Many of them frankly admitted their ignorance of the whole subject. It was not choice founded on conviction that brought the Republicans to the defence of the currency in 1896. Senator Lodge upbraids Judge Parker because he voted for Bryan then and in 1900. But the Judge went with his party, just as the Senator did. Against their will, and to their great surprise, the Republican leaders had the task of defending the gold standard thrust upon them; and the man who two years before was anxious to bully England into abandoning the gold standard, and whose political philosophy may be summed up in the words, "My party, right or wrong," acquired a vicarious virtue which must have made him rub his eyes. In 1900, when time had killed the silver issue and it was safe to come out squarely for gold, the Republican party took that step. This is the party whose leaders will to-day tolerate no "flexibility" of opinion on the currency. They are trying to paint the last fourteen years, not as they lived them, but as they would now be glad to have lived them.

SAINT PAUL AND SING TUCK.

The case of the United States *versus* Sing Tuck, decided by the Supreme Court on April 25 of this year, suggests a curious parallelism to the case of St. Paul the apostle to the Gentiles, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. The way in which the claim of citizenship was treated by the officials of imperial Rome, and the way in which a similar claim is treated by the immigration officials under the Secretary of Commerce, present a contrast not flattering to our own system of Imperialism.

In many respects the two cases are very similar. St. Paul, though claiming the privilege of Roman citizenship, was a member of a despised race. Sing Tuck, though asserting that he is a native-born citizen of the United States, is a Chinaman. Both of these citizens alleged their right of citizenship before ministerial officers, and both finally prosecuted an appeal before a supreme tribunal. The claim was allowed presumptively in the first case, and denied peremptorily in the second. The right of appeal was conceded, and progressed to rapid determination in the former case, and was denied tentatively, if not finally, in the latter. The following transcript of record will suffice to bring out the salient points of the contrast.

In the Book of Acts, chapter 22, it is recorded that St. Paul, after having been rescued from the mob at Jerusalem, remarked to those who were binding him with thongs preparatory to examining him under torture: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?" Thereupon Claudius Lysias, the centurion, came and said: "Tell me, art thou a Roman?" Upon receiving an affirmative answer, it is narrated that "straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid after that he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him." In the further account of the judicial proceedings it appears that at Cæsarea, whither the apostle had been conveyed under escort of an armed guard, the governor, Felix, "commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintances to minister or come unto him." Finally, incensed at the delay of a final decree by Porcius Festus, the successor of Felix, St. Paul declared (Acts 25: 10-12), "I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat, where I ought to be judged. . . . I appeal unto Cæsar." "Then Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered, 'Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? Unto Cæsar shalt thou go.'"

The facts in the case of Sing Tuck are as follows: Seeking to enter the United States, he was detained by an inspector of immigration. The inspector informed him that, under the act for the exclusion of Chinese aliens, he was not permitted to enter this country. To this Sing Tuck made reply that he was not an alien, but a native-born citizen of the United States. The reply of the inspector, acting under the rules laid down by his administrative chief, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, was that he must produce two witnesses to prove the place of his birth. The aforesaid rules also provide that no papers offered by a Chinaman are to be accepted as valid, unless substantial evidence is also forthcoming to show the identity of the person named therein and the person proffering such documentary evidence. After such preliminary detention of a suspect immigrant by the inspector, a hearing is given the accused by a star-chamber board of three, called a Board of Special Inquiry. By Rule 7 "the examination before the board is to be private, in the presence only of Government officials and such witnesses as the examining officer shall designate." It is further provided in the rules that no communication with counsel or friends is to be permitted. As Mr. Justice Brewer caustically remarked in his dissenting opinion (concurred in by Mr. Justice Peckham): "The most notorious outlaw in the land, when charged by the United States with crime, is by Constitutional enactment (Art. 6, amdts. U. S. Const.) given compulsory process for obtaining

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witnesses in his favor and the assistance of counsel for his defence; but the Chinaman—although by birth a citizen of the United States—is thus denied counsel and the right of obtaining witnesses."

The Board of Special Inquiry after this mockery of a hearing—and the process takes place daily at Ellis Island—decided that Sing Tuck was not entitled to entry into his native land. The inspector graciously informed him that he could appeal to the Secretary of Commerce, provided the appeal was prosecuted *within three days*. At this juncture Sing Tuck secured the services of a lawyer, who sued out a writ of habeas corpus, alleging that his client was illegally deprived of his liberty, and the case was taken first to the Circuit Court, then to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States. The prevailing opinion, written by Mr. Justice Holmes, declares that "a mere allegation of citizenship is not enough" (*i. e.*, to warrant the grant of a writ of habeas corpus until appeal has been made to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor); and that "before the courts can be called upon, the preliminary sifting process provided by the statutes must be gone through with. Whether after that a further trial may be had *we do not decide*" (italics not in the original). On this liberty-breathing addendum, Mr. Justice Brewer remarks with fine irony that "the Court does not give to these petitioners encouragement to believe that there can be any judicial examination, even after the decision by the Secretary [of Commerce and Labor] against their claim of American citizenship. If a judicial hearing at this time is not denied, it is, at least like a famous case of old, passed to 'a convenient season.' Meantime, the American citizen must abide in the house of detention."

The legal and Constitutional aspects of this decision may be safely left to the opinion of the legal fraternity. But, solely on the score of administrative amenity and respect for the claim of citizenship in an imperial State, the contrast between the fearsome centurion, the courteous Felix, and the law-abiding Festus on the one hand, and the arbitrary minions and high-handed rule of the Administration on the other, is impressive, not to say depressing.

THE MANASSAS MANŒUVRES.

The manœuvres which began near the old battlefield of Bull Run on Saturday are by far the largest and costliest this country has ever witnessed. Fully 26,000 militia and regulars, divided into two forces, are waging mimic war for eight days under conditions as closely approximating those of actual service as is possible when the camps have been prepared months in advance, carefully laid out, furnished with good water, and when the commanding general expects all the officers and their wives and the guests at headquarters to dine in fresh uniforms and evening gowns at the headquarters mess soon after the close of the day's hostilities.

These manœuvres are, of course, an outgrowth of the increased interest in matters military which has marked our plunges into Imperialism. A press dispatch has already assured us that, while his body is at Oyster Bay, Mr. Roosevelt's soul will dwell on the field of Mars until the exercises are over. His active sympathy has done much, of course, to bring about this period of field training, as has also the liberality of Congress, but the demand for manœuvres dates far back to the early eighties. Several thousand regulars were assembled in the Department of the Missouri in 1886 under Gen. John R. Brooke, and Gen. Miles utilized the opportunity afforded by the gathering of troops at Chicago in 1894 to drill them *en masse* after the Debs strike-rioters were dispersed. But the need of manœuvres was not keenly felt until the war with Spain. Then colonels who had never drilled a whole regiment found themselves called upon to handle brigades and divisions under fire. Shafter, the commander-in-chief, had never in his life manœuvred as much as a brigade, except for parade purposes, before the command of the Fifth Army Corps was bestowed upon him. In the Philippines, when the unfortunate Filipinos were run to earth by the Eighth Army Corps, most of the officers learned their brigade, division, and corps duties only by experience in the field.

In several of the States, notably in Pennsylvania, the militia had encamped from time to time as a whole. Only rarely, however, were other than regimental drills attempted—not only because few militia generals were competent to do more than head their brigades on parade, but because of a well-founded belief that extended-order drills are likely to be of little or no value to troops whose main duty, when called into State service, is to deal with mobs or to defend railways against belligerent strikers. There are still so many militia officers who hold to this view that the first joint manœuvres with regulars, held in Kansas last year, were watched with peculiar interest. Despite the passage of the Dick law, the fact remains that no militia regiment entering the service of the United States on a sudden call tomorrow would take 50 per cent. of its present enrolment into the volunteers. This is because not even the militia of this State can enforce the physical standards of the regular army and keep up its enrolment. If, therefore, a large number of green officers and men must in any case go to the front in the event of war, as witness 1898, the value of advanced manœuvres for the trained minority is materially decreased.

It was clearly shown at Fort Riley last year that the problems set were far beyond the grasp of the militia. It is as idle to expect citizens who drill indoors one evening a week for thirty weeks to step out and undertake reconnoissances, outpost and brigade-guard duty, as it would be to require a beginner in Greek to give a metrical rendering of Homer. What the militia gained, aside from the object-lesson of the way in which professional soldiers care for themselves, was experience in camping and cooking, such as is acquired equally well in a State camp like that at Peekskill. This putting together of two differently educated bodies of men will always detract from the military value of joint manœuvres, particularly as the regular officers are without disciplinary authority over the militia. One or the other body, if not both, will be wasting its time. The real excuse for manœuvres in the regular army is the need of educating our officers, particularly the generals; for a more ignorant and inexperienced lot than is suggested to the military critic by the names of Funston, Wood, Grant, Carter, and Baldwin could be found in few armies. Hitherto, in our service, a general has been a general though he sat at his desk 300 days in a year. The only time our division and department commanders see troops is once a year, on their inspection tours, unless they are assigned to manœuvre duty.

So far as the education of these and other officers is concerned, it can be carried out by assembling a division or two for five months every year on some Government reservation, like that at Fort Riley, and drilling them with something of Continental thoroughness and diligence. This would be far more valuable for the army and far less costly than assembling a force of even 100,000 for ten days. It is the expense of experiments like this at Manassas which will, we believe, speedily check similar war games. The ammunition to be fired away during the week will cost $30,000. It is expected that the militia pay will take $200,000 out of Uncle Sam's pockets, in addition to subsistence at the rate of 18 cents a day for 26,000 men. The land has been leased at the rate of 30 cents an acre; thirty wells have been sunk at a cost of $30,000, and the Government must pay the Southern Railway for twenty miles of spur and side tracks. The damages to crops, buildings, and lands will, it is estimated, mount to between $50,000 and $100,000. Scores of colleges and universities the country over would deem themselves blessed if they could add to their endowment funds what will be spent on the transportation of men, animals, and supplies. A million dollars is the total sum required, according to semi-official opinion in

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Washington—all for ten days of marching and countermarching!

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SCHOLARS AT ST. LOUIS.

Among the numerous enterprises associated with the St. Louis Exposition there is one the outcome of which will be awaited with great interest by the scholars of every country. At an early period in their preparations the directors of the Fair considered the practicability of assembling a general congress of men of science, learning, and progress, whose discussions should cover a broader field and be of more permanent value and wider interest than the proceedings of such bodies usually are. Nearly two years ago correspondence was opened with leading educators and others, and several committees were appointed to outline a programme of proceedings. Three propositions were submitted, having the same general object in view, but differing in their ideas. One proposed a congress which might be called universal in the sense of including almost every question of wide human interest within its scheme. Another proposition was to assemble a few leading men of every country in the various branches of endeavor, to set forth the problems which confronted their respective peoples, and their methods of dealing with them. A third proposition was to include the entire realm of knowledge with its main applications. In view of the wide extension of research in recent time and the great number of specialties into which it branches, such a suggestion might have been supposed to emanate rather from the brain of an enthusiast than from one fitted to deal with human affairs. A practical form was, however, given to the scheme by Professor Münsterberg, whose plan was at length adopted, with occasional modification of details as the preparations progressed.

A limitation obvious from the beginning was that the discussions could not include the details of all the specialties in scientific research. The fundamental idea was rather to introduce a corrective of the tendency to specialization by discussions the aim of which should be to bring the sciences together, by setting forth their mutual relations, the unity of their fundamental conceptions and methods, and the general problems now confronting specialists in their several departments. It was obvious that it would be impossible in a single week to present all the necessary discussions in one series of meetings. The Congress must therefore be divided into branches. One of its novel features is the system on which the subdivision is carried out. After a single general meeting of the entire Congress, at which it is expected that a single address on the evolution of scientific thought will be read, the Congress will separate into seven "divisions," each including a large but fairly well-defined class of sciences, pure or applied. In each of these divisions one address will be delivered on the unity of the sciences included in the division. Next, the Congress will break up into twenty-four departments, each holding a single meeting, at which the themes will be the fundamental conceptions of the special group of sciences treated, and its progress during the past century. On the third day these departments will again subdivide into about one hundred and twenty-five sections, each holding a session of half a day for the discussion of the present problems of the section, and the relation of its special science to cognate branches of knowledge.

A necessary condition of success was that the addresses should all be delivered by scholars of the widest reputation in their several fields. This required a thorough canvass, not only of our own country, but of the principal European countries, with the view of securing the services of the required speakers, who, on the adopted plan, numbered about three hundred. It would doubtless have been easy to collect this number of eminent men if no regard had been paid to the subject; but the task of securing a fixed number of scholars and men of the highest eminence, and no more, in each subject involved difficulties which will appear in stronger outline the more carefully one looks into the problem.

The directors of the Fair showed their appreciation of the situation by placing the consideration of the subject in the hands of an administrative board, comprising several leading educators, of which President Nicholas Murray Butler was the chairman. This board met, decided upon the general plan which has just been outlined, perfected its details, and confided its execution to an organizing committee consisting of Professors Newcomb of Washington, Münsterberg of Cambridge, and Small of Chicago. This committee spent the summer of 1903 in Europe, consulting with and extending invitations to leading investigators and specialists, most of whose names had been previously selected. It is not wonderful that they found scholars in Europe (as here) busy men, and not generally willing to take a trip across the Atlantic for the purpose of attending meetings and delivering a discourse. But the outcome of the visit was that about one hundred and twenty of the most eminent men of science and learning in Europe engaged to visit St. Louis during the week beginning September 18, 1904, and take the several parts assigned them. The adhesion of Americans was, of course, easier to secure, yet in many of the sections the task required time.

The members of the organizing committee, having its headquarters in Washington, have now come to a substantial conclusion with the following results: About one hundred Europeans of the highest distinction in the various branches of intellectual endeavor are on their way to us, or will sail within the next few days. It would be tedious to give a list of names; let it suffice to say that the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, and Rome will all be represented. They will be joined by three hundred Americans of similar standing as speakers and chairmen in the various departments and sections. The resources in professorial material in all the universities in the United States have been heavily drawn upon to complete this organization.

The arrangements made by the Fair for enabling our scholars to avail themselves of this remarkable assemblage are of the most liberal kind. Professors in universities and colleges, members of all our scientific societies and learned professions, and, in fact, all interested will be welcomed as attendants at the meetings. No entrance fee of any sort is required. It is unfortunate that the time of the meeting (September 19-24) had to be so fixed that European professors could get home for the opening of their terms of instruction, and thus falls near the opening date of many of our own institutions of learning. But the organizing committee, and all concerned in the enterprise, earnestly hope that American professors will make whatever sacrifices may be necessary to enjoy the benefit of this unique assemblage. A desirable but not necessary preliminary is to advise Mr. Howard J. Rogers, the Director of Congresses at the Fair, that the writer intends to present himself for enrolment as an attendant at the meetings of the Congress.

THE MEXICAN MACHINE.

MEXICO, August 29, 1904.

There being no other candidates, the recent election of Porfirio Diaz as President and Ramon Corral as Vice-President of Mexico for a term of six years, beginning December 1 next, was not a surprise to any one. The surprise had come some two or three months earlier, in the selection by President Diaz of Minister Corral as the man to fill the newly created office of Vice-President, thus marking him as the most probable successor of Diaz in the Presidency six years hence, supposing that Diaz lives out the coming term.

It had been supposed that the succession to the Presidency (which, by the way, in all press discussions of the subject in this country, is always assumed to depend upon the beck and nod of Diaz) lay between Finance Minister Limantour and the former Secretary of War, Gen. Bernardo Reyes, Diaz's personal friend. Some talk there has always been of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mariscal; but quite generally his age had come to be recognized as a bar to his accession six years hence. Limantour represents naturally the younger party of

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Progressives in the country, and his combination of railroads under Government control, and project for the stabilization of the currency, are the chief topics before the public. Gen. Reyes more nearly stands for the "old school," for the element whose memories are still in the days of warfare, and whose ideals are those of a country of landed estates. The partisans of these two had more to do than had the men themselves with a break in the Mexican Cabinet, resulting in the withdrawal of Reyes. The younger party of so-called "Liberals" (really, Liberalism proper has ceased to be an active force in Mexican politics, and the younger party is better denominated one of "Progressives," favoring modern industrial progress and the concentration of the control of it in the hands of the Government) were only waiting for the word of permission from Diaz, or even a sign that an active campaign of sentiment in favor of Limantour throughout the country would not be actually frowned upon, to promulgate formally his candidacy. He himself, however, suddenly announced that he would not be a candidate, preferring to remain where he could carry on his work with regard to the railroads and the currency.

At the same time, there came, from a dozen different sources, the at first very mysterious announcement that Ramon Corral, but a year or so before called to the Ministry of the Interior from the post of Governor of the State of Sonora (far in the northwest of Mexico, cut off from the rest of the country by the Sierra Madre, and related commercially rather with the United States than with Mexico), a man comparatively unknown to the country at large, though with a record entirely in his favor, was the most "likely" candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Newspapers in the capital which are in the confidence of the Administration began to talk of Corral as if by inspiration, and were followed by similar organs of the "powers that be" in the various States of the Republic. Governors of States, or other inspired missionaries, returned from visits to the capital, and soon after in the provincial towns there followed the organization of clubs, mostly commonly called "Clubs Porfirista," which proclaimed the candidacy of Diaz and Corral. A meeting of the so-called Liberal party in Mexico City resulted in the nomination of Corral by a large majority. Diaz had decided not to take sides in the Limantour-Reyes contest, and had picked out a comparatively young man, not identified with factions hitherto, who has been a noticeably good administrator, and is credited with much vigor and determination. Apparently, Diaz had said, "Here is my successor," and at once all other candidatures faded from sight. A word from the throne is sufficient in this country.

Whether the "machine" which now controls things in Mexico, and which is Porfirio Diaz—nothing more—can effectually provide thus for the succession to the throne, is not perhaps altogether certain. General Reyes will hardly come to the front again; his candidacy was possible only on condition of his receiving the nomination as a legacy from Diaz. But, in case of the latter's death before the end of his term, it is not altogether certain that Corral can be elected in 1910 for a regular term. Much will, of course, depend upon the man himself. But Limantour's claims upon attention bid fair to become greater instead of less; and, supposing him to be ambitious for the Presidency, his candidacy can hardly be suppressed even by the dictum of Diaz. It is ordinarily conjectured that the latter will retire before the end of the coming six-year term, or will go on a trip to Europe, which will leave Corral in charge, and give the people a chance to become accustomed to seeing some one else in supreme power.

Now that the likelihood of revolution has receded into the background in Mexico, and a rivalry for the Presidency would probably not degenerate into a civil war between two claimants, it would probably be a good thing for the country to have something like a chance to test its Constitution in a real election. Those like that held this year are the merest mimicry of constitutionalism, and, if long persisted in, will inevitably tend, not towards implanting a real constitutionalism, but towards a total incapacitation for the exercise, even by the limited number of educated Mexicans, of the rights supposed to belong to the citizens of a republic. The old dictatorship, the one which in the nature of things must soon reach its end, has rested upon the vigor and the will of one man, whose prestige in the first instance was that of a military conqueror; the new dictatorship, unless indeed there be a sufficient leaven of patriotism and intelligence in the country to prevent it, will be a dictatorship of powerful commercial interests. The boast of the admirers of Diaz is that, by rigorously reëstablishing order and maintaining it, he has given opportunity for the development of the country, especially by foreign capital; and, by the diffusion throughout the country of railroads, the telegraph, and industrial enterprises generally, has made a return to the old days of revolution impossible. These great interests, coming, as stated, in large part from outside, have now set their stake upon a continuance of the policy under which they have been established. They will not leave that policy to chance, but will seek to insure their own future, and, if necessary, will exercise the tremendous power they now have in the country, even to the point of making the office of President one of their assets.

"Elections" were held throughout the country in June, for both Federal and State officers. In all cases, the slates previously prepared by the machine in power were confirmed, practically without opposition—indeed, quite generally without oppposition candidates at all; but the empty forms of the Constitution were as scrupulously followed as though the contests were real and the interest of the people at large was keen. Election boards were organized and proclaimed by executive authority beforehand, and polling-places carefully specified. In the majority of cases, it is doubtful if these polling-places were even open; however, there was no offence in this, for no voters except a sufficient few to cast a show of ballots for the precincts in question knew of the election or paid any attention to it. A prominent Mexican banker, for instance, asked if he attended the election, replied that he had forgotten on just what day it was held, and it "was not necessary" to bother about it, as everything was fixed and would be attended to in due form by the officials and employees of Government concerned. Some so-called "popular meetings" were, to be sure, held; but, beyond gathering in small crowds to hear the music and perhaps lend a non-understanding ear to the speeches of the organizers, the proletariat had no interest in what was described by the Government press as "spontaneous demonstrations of the masses." The poll lists and election returns were, in general, arranged in the capital of a district covering from two to nine hundred square miles, sometimes more.

The Federal officers, executive, legislative, and judicial, are supposed to be chosen by the electors designated in the popular vote by electoral districts, into which each State is divided, at the ratio of one such district to forty thousand inhabitants, the number entitled to a Deputy in Congress. These electors, according to the slate arranged and confirmed by "popular vote," gather at the stated time, the second week in July, in the designated municipality, the seat of a *partido* or county, as a rule. There the forms are gone through with in all solemnity and stateliness. It will be worth while to describe the action of one such electoral college, published afterwards at length in the official Gazette of the State. At the first meeting, the *jefe politico* of the district presided, until the meeting, composed of sixty-odd electors, had chosen its officers, after which he withdrew and the meeting adjourned for the day. At the second meeting, the "credentials" of the members elected with scrupulous fidelity to the slate were all proclaimed correct, and the meeting adjourned. At the third meeting, a Deputy for that District and a Senator for the State were chosen, by unanimous vote, together with a substitute for each. The fourth meeting brought out the vote for President and Vice-President. Diaz was unanimously chosen, after which a telegram of congratulations was sent to him, and felicitations were exchanged with the Governor of the State during an informal recess; then Corral was voted upon for Vice-President, receiving fifty of the total of sixty-six votes, the rest being a few scattering expressions of individual choice. At the last meeting the two justices of the Supreme Court named on the official slate received formal approbation. Thus, five days, with sessions of an hour or less each, were consumed in the process.

The State officers are, ostensibly, chosen by popular vote at the time the Federal electors are designated in the districts. Nothing is heard about the results, however, nor is even a hint published in the newspapers (which, as a rule, have forgotten to mention beforehand the date of the election in the various precincts), until the results are canvassed and proclaimed, from one to three weeks later, by the Legislature of the State. This is done in the form of a law, which is promulgated by executive decree. The members of the State Legislature will, almost unfailingly, be found to consist of executive officers of the State Government, or lawyers addicted to the Administration, all resident, as a rule, in the capital of the State, though representing the various legislative districts thereof. The same sort of procedure prevails as to the representatives in the upper and lower houses of the Federal Congress, who are elected according

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to the slate, and are, more commonly than not, unknown, or very little known, in the States which they represent. They are residents of the capital, as a rule, some of them being officials in subordinate posts in the Federal Government, others professional men. The Government employees are permitted to take their seats by special dispensation of the Congress, waiving the Constitutional prohibition. Three States under the writer's cognizance are represented by Senators and Deputies not one of whom is or ever has been a resident, and only two or three of whom have even been in the States they represent.

The proclamation by the Legislature of the election of a Governor is made the occasion of considerable formality. The main plaza will probably be the centre of a band concert, attracting the idle portion of the populace, while a detachment of Federal troops and State constabulary, led by buglers, will parade the streets. Inside the legislative hall, the result having been announced amid cheers, the "choice of the people" will be sent for, and speeches will follow, after which may come toasts with champagne, a champagne lunch, or even a regular banquet. Banquets are the order of the day, given by various interests in the capital and in other cities of the State which wish to stand well with the new executive. These are wont to be very pleasant, social, withal formal, affairs, and are often the occasion of much splendor and display. An instance is a banquet recently held in one of the smaller towns of a State, where some ten thousand pesos were spent in properly entertaining the Governor-elect for three or four days. The same town has no school worthy the name beyond the primary grade, and the money thus spent in establishing a good secondary school would have made a most fitting memorial for the new Governor, if a suggestion from him had indicated a preference for being honored in that way.

Such an election, running its peaceful course until the final outburst into the banquet stage, has, it must be said, some advantages. "Business" is not in the least disturbed during election year in Mexico, at least so far as any dependence upon the results of election is concerned. No one could think of suggesting that the economic policy of Government had any relation with the pending election; indeed, economic questions are not so much as mentioned in this connection, though Mexico has now on her hands the most remarkable essay at Government intervention in railroad management that has yet been attempted on this continent, and the reform of the currency is the most important question now confronting her. However, Mexico does not entirely escape dependence upon elections. There is always a suspension of activity on account of the Presidential election in the United States. This was very noticeable in 1896 and 1900, but is less noticeable this year, and it is doubtful if the influence of the neighboring election would be felt to any great extent at all, were it not that there has been considerable suspense in business circles for more than a year past on account of the talk about "stabilizing the peso." This is natural, considering that business in the United States is apparently to be much less disturbed than usual by the impending election. Mexico's dependence in this respect arises naturally from the amount of American capital invested here in large undertakings, and from the fact that, owing not a little to proximity, the United States now sends Mexico nearly one-half of her imports, and takes about three-fourths of her exports.

THE NESSELRODE PAPERS.

PARIS, August 22, 1904.

The name of Chancellor Nesselrode is well known. He lived ninety years, and died as recently as 1850. Count A. de Nesselrode has undertaken to publish his letters and papers, and we have before us the first volume of this publication. I will say at once that the contents relate not to the famous Chancellor, but to his father, Count Wilhelm von Nesselrode; nevertheless, they possess great interest *per se* and a real historical value. As the editor says: "This correspondence shows, in the light of precise details, of characteristic sentiments and appreciations, the portrait of the man whom the Chancellor liked to call his best master in the science of life, the lofty and sympathetic figure of this cadet of a great German family, who was, after the fashion of his time, to make his fortune a little anywhere, and who was in the service of the great and the lesser courts of Europe, by turns soldier, courtier, and diplomat." Wilhelm von Nesselrode began his career as a subaltern officer in the armies of the German Empire; he went afterwards to the court of the Elector Palatine, and became a favorite of the Electress. The correspondence leaves no doubt of this. She calls him, in an undated letter of 1760, "My very dear and tender friend," and asks—

"Is there no way of tearing your fatal passion from your heart? . . . Must I become the ceaseless torment of your whole life, by continuing to kindle in your heart a flame which will in the end destroy you? Your parents are still talking of their plan of marrying you, and they will execute it, I am sure. I will prove to you, dear and adorable friend, by putting an end to my union with you, that nobody in the world has loved you more than I have. . . . The person who has been so happy as to love you has not the heart to become your tormentor. You have excited in me I do not know what tender, respectful, and grateful feelings, which will never be denied; but do become my friend, I beg of you, and cease to be my lover."

No wonder Nesselrode could not remain long at a court where he had excited such a warm passion. He had to quit his post, and, under the protection of Choiseul, who was all-powerful at the time, he was appointed colonel in the Royal Allemand Regiment.

At Paris and Versailles he found the society for which he seemed to have been born. He was essentially a man of the world; his personal charm, his manners, were fully appreciated, and he forgot his "malheureux roman" with the Electress. There is a curious letter of his to her which shows that she urged him to come back to the Electorate; he very sensibly refused. His correspondence indicates that he was acquainted in Paris with the Prince de Soubise, the Soubise who distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy, and was beaten at Rossbach by Frederick the Great. We see him on intimate terms with Mademoiselle Dubois of the Comédie-Française, and making her presents. The Duke de Choiseul, his patron, was exiled to Chanteloup, and Nesselrode, with much regret, left the brilliant society of France. He remained but a short time at the Court of Hesse-Darmstadt and at Weimar, and, not finding the small capitals of Germany a sufficiently large field for his activity, offered his services to Frederick the Great. "I consent," writes Frederick to him from Potsdam, August 10, 1769, "to leave you to choose your place of residence, whether here or at Berlin, provided that I find you here on my return from Silesia."

Frederick was seduced by the eminently French *esprit* of Nesselrode, amused by his confidences respecting the little German courts, French society, the French philosophers, the French actresses. He named him one of his chamberlains and admitted him to his intimacy. Nesselrode grew tired of the life of a chamberlain, and, in 1775, asked Frederick's permission to leave his service. "The only regrets," he says, "which I shall have will be at having spent six years of my life in a country governed by the greatest of kings, without having found occasion to use my feeble talents in his service." Frederick granted him his request, and three years afterward a ukase of the Empress Catharine, dated St. Petersburg, September 13 (25), orders the entrance into her service of the "Gentilhomme allemand Count Guillaume de Nesselrode," and sends him to the Court of Portugal as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

Before going to Portugal, he married Madamoiselle Louise Gontard, and writes to his brother: "She is neither handsome nor young, nor noble, but she is worthy of my fullest esteem." She justified his choice, but gave him only two years of happiness in Lisbon, where she died after a short malady. He was at Lisbon when the terrible earthquake of 1755 took place, which ruined this capital and created such a sensation all over Europe. Having lost his wife, and feeling very despondent and discouraged, Nesselrode asked for another post, and was sent to Berlin, as minister of Russia. He had a young child, a son, whom he thought with reason could be better educated in Germany than in Portugal. In Berlin, Nesselrode was occupied with very important affairs and negotiations for a long period. The volume just published gives us many letters of the Emperor Paul, the Empress Marie, the Prince-Primate Dalberg, addressed to him. There are, unfortunately, many important letters wanting, which the editor believes were lost during the numerous journeys. He remarks, also, that all the letters, with very few exceptions, are written in French, though they came from German or Russian correspondents.

"This," he says, "is significant. What an eloquent proof of the place which the French language made for itself in the worldly and the literary Europe do we find in the fact that these Russians and Germans exchange correspondence (not only official but personal) in a language not their own. In a period when all these little German courts were so often at war with France, sometimes even its deadly enemies, they remained nevertheless, in whatever concerned science, letters, arts, fashion, its faithful and warm admirers, and tried in the measure of their means to imitate. At the same date, whoever came from Paris and Versailles was considered in Europe as belonging to the élite of society, as a model of grace and of taste. France was

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at the height of its éclat; and though it sometimes succumbed in the pursuit of its policy or the endeavors of its arms, it still remained conqueror by the admiration which it inspired in its adversaries."

Dalberg, whose name often occurs in this volume, and who was in correspondence with Nesselrode, was the Prince-Primate of the German Catholic Church. He was born near Worms, of a very old family. He was successively Civil Governor of Erfurt and Bishop of Constance; he became in 1802 Elector of Mainz, Bishop of Ratisbon, and Arch-Chancellor of the Empire. He prosided over the last reunions of the German Bund, and opposed the projects of Napoleon. Afterwards he attached himself to Napoleon and was named by him President of the Confederacy of the Rhine, and Grand Duke of Frankfort. He remained faithful to Napoleon in his misfortunes, and was deprived by the Allies of his estates, with the exception of the bishopric of Ratisbon.

The letters written by various correspondents and by Nesselrode after 1789 have a peculiar interest. There is one, unsigned, addressed to him on July 31, 1789, and describing the arrival of Necker at Versailles, his triumphant reception, the first movements of the Revolution. The death of Joseph II., in February, 1790, is the subject of two letters; in one his last moments are described with great minuteness; in the other Count Vorontzoff writes to Nesselrode:

"Headlong, inconsiderate, and violent as he was during his unfortunate reign, he showed himself wise, moderate, firm and great during the last six weeks of his life. He recognized all his faults, repented them, tried to repair them, and died as the most virtuous Stoic might have died. It is the only period in which he showed that he had the soul of the great Maria Theresa. . . . He repented too late, not having followed the advice of Prince Kaunitz, and of his brother, who has just succeeded to this vast and utterly confused monarchy."

We find a very interesting letter written to Nesselrode by Count de Mérode, from Paris, on the 26th of July, 1790. He first congratulates Nesselrode on the choice he made of M. Gedike for the education of his son (the future Chancellor); he develops his views on the French Revolution and upon its first effects. "The impulse once given, people are not masters of the movement. This happened all the easier in France on account of the vanity and levity of this nation. . . . However, with all its defects, the new Constitution has superb aspects." Mérode took a rather optimistic view of the situation in France; he saw, however, the prodigious disorder of the finances, the urgent necessity of re-establishing social and political order. He saw obstacles "in the national character, in the unhappy mania of all the semi-capacities in France to aspire to genius." In another letter, he gives a very curious portrait of Mirabeau. He says that he took particular care to study a man who inspired him with the greatest interest.

"In vain," he continues, "have I tried to find proofs of the vile actions, the low vices, which are attributed to him. Without taking him for an angel or a devil, I consider him to be the man in France who best understands men and things in his country, and who has best understood the theory of political liberty. Add to this that he unites to the talents of a great orator the talent, rare in this country, of knowing where to stop. . . . Also, though he was the principal promoter of the most decisive actions which have consummated the destruction of despotism, you have seen him lately oppose on some crucial occasions—even quite recently, as in the debate on the war and peace prerogative—at the peril of his life, the measures proposed by the false apostles of liberty, who, in their democratic frenzy, think that one can never abate sufficiently the executive power."

This first volume of the Nesselrode papers is only a sort of preface; it shows in a very favorable light the man who gave to his son, the future Chancellor of Russia, the first practical and political lessons which he received. It is also interesting as furnishing proofs of what we may call the international or rather cosmopolitan character of the best society of the eighteenth century. The Mérodes, the Nesselrodes, are typical in this respect. Our time, notwithstanding the increasing ease of communication, is perhaps more narrow-minded; and less humane, in the sense of the word applicable to international relations.

Correspondence.

THE GREAT GOD "GOVERNMENT."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The very doleful view of public life in America as shown in Steffens's 'The Shame of Cities' and in similar publications ought to be salutary reading for the average American citizen. The ignorance of the actual facts of politics among our "good people" is appalling. Not long ago I was in a seminar (postgraduate work) at a certain university. The class consisted chiefly of clergymen of various denominations, professors of smaller colleges, and some resident postgraduates. Their combination of acquaintance with political theories of government of cities with profound ignorance of actual practice, was at once amusing and disheartening. The lesson of a century of political experience in America had never been learnt. These "good people" were leaders of thought in their respective communities.

After all, it is doubtful whether, as a people, we have advanced very much beyond the stage indicated by the old theory of the divine right of kings. Whenever our "good people" get a glimpse of the horrid corruption of our Government, they call on the Government for aid. A government must somehow possess miraculous, supernatural powers. Why? Because it is the Government, and, being the Government, it must have—well, somehow, in some way, it should possess the attributes of a deity. Sifted to the last analysis, this notion is at the bottom of the cry for municipal ownership to cure municipal corruption. The principle is that he that boodleth in a few things, shall boodle in many; if a thief steal thy doormat, open to him the front door and shew to him thy silver closet and thy wardrobe! Advocates of good government who know the seamy side of political life will welcome the experiment of municipal ownership, if necessary, for an object-lesson to our "good people." If the people cannot trust the evidence of their eyes and noses as to the existence of the rottenness of our present system of government, and if it be necessary for absolute certainty that they should plunge into the seething pool, bathe in it, and wallow in it, let no good man lay a straw in their way.

The truth is, that the fault lies not so much in the weakness and depravity of human nature as in the unfitness of our political system to human nature such as it is, has been, and probably will be for centuries to come. The bed does not fit the occupant, and the lopping-off and stretching-out process produces painful experiences; but we are very loath to admit that the fault is the bed's. The occupant really ought to be self-denying, public-spirited, and altruistic enough to put up with such personal inconveniences. Thomas Jefferson and his school—whether they ever got the notion from French or English philosophers is immaterial—said that it was the best possible bed. Of late years there has been no lack of men who have said boldly, and even coarsely, that there is something wrong with the bed. But no man, or at least no party, has yet dared to say openly that the framework of our political system is wrong, and that we can never find comfort until it is adapted to human nature. Slaves to a formula, hypnotized by a phrase, we weep, wring our hands, and cast imploring eyes to the Most High for aid, but we have not the courage to apply the one remedy necessary for political salvation—purification of the electorate by the elimination of the profligate, irresponsible, and ignorant. In the meanwhile, "on with the dance, let joy be unconfined"; let everybody dance (and vote)—more offices, more powers, more boodle, more graft!

E. L. C. Morse.

Chicago, August 27, 1904.

GERMAN NOTIONS OF AMERICA.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Mr. Stille's letter which appeared in your issue of August 18 was of interest to me because his observations correspond to my own. Being in Berlin last spring, I asked a German bookseller what he thought of Münsterberg's new book. "Oh," he said, "it is a great deal too favorable to the Americans." The Germans are so prejudiced against America that it looks as if they had no patience to read a book which praises us.

Moreover, the ignorance of American life which prevails in Germany is something surprising. It would not be so surprising in France, where Hamerton says educated people where he lived had never heard of Tennyson. But in Germany it is more remarkable because there are so many Germans in this country. Perhaps your readers will be interested in two examples of this. A German student once asked me whether we had any literature in America. This may sound incredible, but it is a fact. This young man belonged to the more industrious class of German students, and I met him last year at the University of Grenoble, where he had gone to learn French. Very likely he had heard of some of our poets, like Longfellow, but imagined them to be Englishmen.

Last October an article on contemporary English literature appeared in a paper published at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The writer asserted that only five English authors of the present day are at all known in Germany. Here is his list, which seemed

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to me a rather singular one: Rudyard Kipling, G. B. Shaw, Oscar Wilde, J. K. Jerome, and Mark Twain. According to this, Mark Twain is the only living American writer who is much known in Germany. His story, 'Tom Sawyer,' is even read as a text-book of English in some of the German schools.

It is, then, much to be wished that such books as 'Die Amerikaner' and 'Das Land der Zukunft' (by the late Wilhelm von Polenz) may have a wide circulation on the Continent of Europe.—Yours respectfully,

HERBERT M. CLARKE.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., August 30, 1904.

PROF. MUENSTERBERG'S VIEW OF AMERICAN PERSONALITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps you will permit me to add a few words to the careful and painstaking review of Professor Münsterberg's 'Die Amerikaner' which appeared in your issue of August 25. It seems to me that in one fundamental point your reviewer gives a wrong impression of what Professor Münsterberg sets out in his book to do. Your reviewer says: he constructs an imaginary American. I should rather say: he singles out and brings into full and striking relief one particular side of American character, its individualistic side. One may take issue with such a method; one may prefer a method better fitted to bring out the variety of conflicting tendencies which make national character. But it is clearly unscientific to call such a method fanciful and unavailing, for all scientific experiment proceeds upon this very method of elimination and selection.

For my own part, I cannot help expressing my admiration for the penetration and breadth of mind with which Professor Münsterberg traces the ramifications of American individualism in every part of national life, in politics and commerce, in education and science, in literature, art and religion, in home and society; and it seems to me entirely natural and proper that a book whose avowed purpose it is to bring out the positive and abiding qualities of national character should pass rather lightly over its temporary shortcomings and frailties.

Very respectfully, KUNO FRANCKE.

"COMMANDABLE" ENGLISH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Does not the Frenchman who has had the courage to compose the subjoined circular, in spite of the difficulties which the English language presents to him, deserve to have his name and address, as well as his composition, preserved in the columns of the *Nation*? L. M. N.

SIR,

I keep, in Paris, 59, rue Vaneau, an hotel, family house, which is recommandable by his good déportment and his aristocratical connexion.

But these persons deserting, during fine weather, our town to go to country, I want your aid.

I will be very obliged to you for recommanding my house at the students which go in France during the months of July, August and September in order to improve themselves in our language.

If, however, it was agreable to these gentlemen, they will be found in saloon, during an hour a day, a person speecking well french language wich will be able to talk with them.

I annex to this letter my card with cursory view of quite moderate prices, as you can see.

Thinking sir, my letter will have a favorable reception, I send you my good and respectful salutations.

Yours truly, F. L.————.

Notes.

J. B. Lippincott Co.'s preliminary fall announcement contains the second volume of Marcus R. P. Dorman's 'History of the British Empire in the 19th Century'; a 'Life of Thomas H. Benton,' by Wm. M. Meigs; 'The True Henry Clay,' by Joseph M. Rogers; 'True Republicanism,' by Frank P. Stearns; a second series of Charles Morris's 'Historical Tales of the United States: American,' and 'Historical Tales: Spanish America,' by the same compiler; translations of Waliszewski's 'Ivan the Terrible,' and of Max Rooses's 'Rubens'; Urquhart and Motteux's translation of Rabelais's Works, in a new and illustrated edition; the 'Reminiscences of Harry Angelo,' now first illustrated after famous artists; 'Modern Industrial Progress,' by C. H. Cochrane; 'Diseases of Society,' by G. Frank Lydston, M. D.; 'Loves and Lovers of the Past,' from the French of Paul Gaulot; 'Shakspere's Town and Time,' by H. Snowden Ward and Catherine Weed Ward; and Dr. Horace Howard Furness's variorum edition of "Love's Labor's Lost."

McClure, Phillips & Co. will publish during the present season 'The History of the Standard Oil Co.,' by Ida M. Tarbell; Prince Kropotkin's 'Russian Literature'; Mrs. Garnett's translation of Tolstoy's 'War and Peace'; Prof. Münsterberg's 'The Americans,' in English; 'French Home Cooking,' by Berthe Julienne Low; 'The Secret of Popularity,' by Emily Holt; 'The Courtship of Queen Elizabeth,' by Martin Hume; 'Monsieur Dupin,' Poe's mystery tales, illustrated; and 'Blazed Trail Stories,' by Stewart Edward White.

Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., Boston, will bring out directly a single volume of 'Poets of the Nineteenth Century,' of a thousand pages, giving "all the material needed by students in the nineteenth-century English poetry courses."

Henry Frowde announces, for the Oxford University Press, that Mrs. Boole is to follow up her 'Lectures on the Logic of Arithmetic' with a book on 'The Preparation of the Child for Science.'

Attentive little ears will readily be found for Lenore E. Mulets's 'Stories of Littie Animals' (Boston: L. C. Page & Co.), which introduces in familiar conversation with "Phyllis" the Hare, the Rabbit, the Gray Squirrel, etc. Each confidential talk is generally followed by a story (real or mythical) in which the animal appears as an actor, and at the end is given a brief syllabus of a nature-lesson. Sir Edwin Arnold is drawn upon in a prose adaptation, and Browning in the essential parts of his 'Pied Piper.' Sophie Schneider furnishes interesting illustrations on a green ground. The author has a decided knack for narrative, and possesses a bright humor. The parental reader will, we hope, conclude to omit the account of the rabbit's vicarious vengeance upon the badger. Our infant savages are but too prone to be amused by cruelty, and to practise it.

The three latest volumes to appear of the series of historical reprints in translation entitled 'The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898' (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.) are of unusual value and interest. Volume xiv. reproduces a wide array of documents from 1605 to 1609, covering questions of trade, Chinese rebellion, government, conquest, and missionary work. They are all drawn from original manuscripts, mostly in the Seville archives, but also from the historical archives at Madrid and Simancas, and from the British Museum. Volumes xvi. and xvii. contain a translation in full of Morga's 'Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas' (Mexico, 1609), a standard source on the history of Spanish conquest in the Pacific from 1565 to 1606, and perhaps the most valuable early authority on primitive customs of the Filipinos. The notes of José Rizal's Paris reprint of 1890 have been drawn upon extensively, also those of Lord Stanley's English translation of 1868. Morga declared that, at the time of the Spanish conquest, there were very few Filipinos who did not write in their dialects. Volume xv. contains also an abstract of the expedition of Thomas Cavendish and of the early voyages of the Dutch to the East Indies, and volume xvi. contains an abstract of the passages bearing on the Philippines in B. L. de Argensola's 'Conquista de las Islas Malucas' (Madrid, 1609), and a valuable though brief account of the customs of the Pampanga natives in their lawsuits, now brought to light for the first time and ascribed to Father Juan Plasencia by the editors. There are reproductions of title-pages and of pictures of early Dutch, Spanish, and native vessels.

'Japan in the Beginning of the 20th Century' is a portly volume of 828 pages, in English, silk bound, and published by the Imperial Japanese Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, its preface bearing date May, 1904. Its eight divisions treat of the empire and administration, of primary industries, manufacturing industries, foreign trade, army and navy, communications, and education, with a supplement on Formosa. Besides the tables and figures, there is much descriptive text, with historical notes, and the information is fresh and exact. There is the usual assumption of Japanese writers as to the trustworthiness of the ancient traditions which are called history nowhere else than in Japan, and it is a real pity that native conceit of the knowledge of English seems to be so profound, for few Japanese have as yet mastered the correct use of the definite or indefinite article, or understand clearly the sequence of tenses. Besides, there are rather too many repetitions and overlappings. Nevertheless, the volume is of sterling value. We note that the number of Japanese abroad in 1900 was 123,971, an increase from 18,688 in 1889; the number in the United States and colonies being 90,146, in Korea 15,829, and in England and her colonies 8,215. Other authorities show that, at the breaking out of the war with Russia, there were about 10,000 Japanese in Mantchuria, and 30,000 in Korea. Under forestry we have a paragraph, not statistical, indeed, but true, concerning the influence of the forests "which occupy more than one half of the area of the Island Empire" upon

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the mind of the people, who "are instinctively aware of their duties—so to speak—toward the forests." We note that Fuji San, long the "No Two Such" of Dai Nippon, is overtopped by Mt. Morrison, the "Jewel Mount," in Formosa, to which the Japanese have given the name Nii-taka San, or the New High Mountain. The rather full chapter on protection of industrial property (patents, designs, and trade marks) has a section of great interest entitled "Provisions that especially concern foreigners." Chapters on the army and navy, in full detail, are timely. Formosa, though not yet paying its own expenses, has, judging from the proofs here furnished, a bright financial future.

The 'Annuaire Financier et Économique du Japon,' fourth year, 1904, is a very creditable piece of typography from the Government Printing-Office in Tokio. Within its 153 pages is a well-digested mass of information, very clearly expressed, concerning finance, agriculture, industry, and commerce, foreign trade, banks and the money market, railways, telegraphs, steamship companies, and Formosa. There are seven plates of graphic representation, showing to the eye in color and diagram what the figures and text set forth in detail. There is probably no handy map of Japan equal in value to the folding map, 28x17 inches, here given, which exhibits all the railways, whether owned by the Government or by private companies, projected, in progress and completed; while two other maps on the same page show the countries neighboring to Japan as well as the sea routes and submarine cables. The usual table for the conversion of weights, measures, and money accompanies the constants, both geographical and concerning the population. The estimates of 1903 show that there are now more than 50,000,000 subjects of the Mikado. Besides the budget for 1904-5, the financial programme for the war is given in outline, while under the different headings are tables displaying receipts, expenses and general financial history from the beginning to the present time—the state of the national treasury, for example, from 1870, when Japan emerged from feudalism and became a nation; while under the head of railways the history begins only with 1879-80, and of Formosa only from 1896. So far as we can gather, this is a very clear, full and satisfactory statement of the resources of Japan and one worthy of the closest inspection and most critical study.

The fourth and fifth parts of volume iii. of the 'Catalogo Generale della Libreria Italiana, 1847-1899' (Milan; New York: Lemcke & Buechner) fall but a little short of completing the letter R, which is swollen by a considerable tale of *Raccolta, Racconti, Regolamenti, Relazione, Ricordo*, as Q is eked out by *Questione*. We remark that Pushkin has been kept in view in Italy since 1856. His drama "Boris Godunoff" was translated in 1883, and again in 1896, with two collaborators, one for the prose, the other for the verse. Down to 1880 Edgar Quinet retained his popularity, for patriotic reasons. His complete works were translated as recently as 1871. Renan and Racine may also be said to be alive in the peninsula. Ricardo, for all his Italian-looking name, was done with in 1855, when his 'Principles of Political Economy' was translated. Gabriel Rossetti is still in vogue, and his son Dante's poems were translated in 1899. Mrs. Radcliffe holds her own in Italy. So does Giovanni Ruffini, particularly with his 'Doctor Antonio.' And there is still a call for Rosmini-Serbati.

From Barbèra's press in Florence issues a vest-pocket edition of Tasso's 'Gerusalemme Liberata,' filling 500 pages of diamond type on thin paper. To read it for long is not the privilege of any but the strongest eyes; but this vade-mecum may serve to refresh the memory or to assist in memorizing.

The August-September number of the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* is largely taken up with the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Verein Deutscher Bibliothekare, in Stuttgart. The topics selected for discussion were this year of a more practical and technical character than has usually been the case, namely, Travelling Libraries, Interlibrary Loans, and the Dusting of Books. The paper on interlibrary loans was read by Dr. P. Hirsch, who has charge of this work at the Royal Library in Berlin, and contained many practical suggestions in its description of the business routine worked out at that library. Following the custom at the meetings of the Verein for the director of the largest library in the city where the meeting is held to give an account of the institution under his charge, Dr. Steiff, director of the Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, delivered an address describing that library; he dealt particularly with modern developments, and described quite fully the recent reforms in the regulations for interlibrary loans. These are certainly most liberal, as books are sent without any expense whatever to the borrower. Since this rule was adopted, the number of loans to out-of-town students has increased from 1800 in 1896 to 7,200 in 1903. The library authorities regard the reform as fully justified by the results, chiefly by the increased furtherance of studies in the country at large (the majority of these loans are naturally made to residents of Wirtemberg). As the speaker expressed it, "The furtherance of studies is the most important and beautiful part of our duties," and he added, "We see [in these reforms] the first step towards such relations between libraries as are alone worthy of a time that stands *im Zeichen des Verkehrs*."

In the same number Dr. G. Zedler continues his researches into the history of Gutenberg's types, and shows that, while the types themselves which had been used in printing the 36-line Bible went to Albrecht Pfister in Bamberg, the matrixes must have been acquired by Peter Schöffer, presumably at the death of the inventor. Prof. B. Hasselberg in Stockholm, who in 1901 issued a facsimile reprint of the 1598 edition of Tycho Brahe's 'Astronomiæ Instauratæ Mechanica,' describes a *de luxe* copy of the original, now in the possession of the archiepiscopal library at Kalocsa in Hungary, and which may have been the author's presentation copy to the Emperor Rudolph, to whom the work was dedicated. We also learn from this number that the manuscript collections of the late Karl Dziatzko, consisting of notes for his lectures and materials for his studies in the history of books and libraries, have been presented to the University Library of Göttingen.

The intelligence of the German workman is revealed, not only by the excellence of the products of his industry, but by the character of his recreative reading. The ten most popular authors among the workingmen of Essen, the seat of the Krupp works (and they formed 76 per cent. of the borrowers from the public library), were, in the order of their popularity, Schiller, Lessing, Kleist, Hans Hoffmann, Gotthelf, Dickens, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Scott, Goethe, and Anzengruber. Translations from the classics were also in steady demand. Free libraries in Germany are fewer in number and much smaller than those in England or this country—their comparatively small size being due in part to the fact that they are more select, especially in relation to fiction; but they are supplemented by many others. More than 10,000 people's libraries have been founded by the Home Mission. School and travelling libraries provide for the rural districts, and the Society for Promoting Popular Culture supports libraries, as do various workingmen's organizations. To these should be added the increasing number of libraries attached to works and factories. In this connection it may be noted that the number of newspapers published in the industrial towns is much greater than in England or the United States. In Essen, for instance, there are 22 daily and weekly journals, in Düsseldorf 29, while, in England, towns of the same size and class never have more than four or five, and often fewer.

—The Ruskin-Norton correspondence closes in the September *Atlantic*. Dark as the clouds were which hung around Ruskin during his later years, there were continual gleams of light, and Professor Norton is to be thanked for letting them shine out upon the public, where many another would have been tempted to repress them for the sake of the tragic climax which might easily have been constructed. Besides these letters, announced for publication in book form, an appreciation of Oliver Cromwell from the competent pen of Goldwin Smith stands out in special prominence. In certain circles of society at the national capital, the article will doubtless be considered fatally defective in its failure to make any use or acknowledgment of a recent biography of Cromwell by a distinguished American writer. Mr. Smith attributes to Cromwell noble aims and a high measure of success, foiled of permanence by a premature death and an unfortunate succession. Turbulent ambitions beyond Richard's power of control brought about a period of military anarchy, "and it was from the military anarchy, not from the Commonwealth or Protectorate, that the Restoration was a recoil." After citing Bancroft's favorable comment on Cromwell's colonial policy, he adds: "Had this policy been afterwards pursued, there would have been no rupture, no War of the American Revolution, no War of 1812." R. L. Bridgman maintains with a great deal of confidence that the world is progressing very rapidly towards world-peace by the route of world-organization. This organization is to be based on the great fact of essential world-unity, thus avoiding the evils of federation, with its seeds of nullification or secession, and its implication that the conditions were created by men and may be destroyed by men at will. Just what change of human nature is to free bodies of human beings from the occasion-

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al determination to overturn any human conditions whatever, is not sufficiently explained. Mr. Bridgman looks hopefully to the work of the organizations for the promotion of peace, but one cannot forget that the American Peace Society still seems perfectly contented to carry the name of Lyman Abbott prominently on its roll of officers.

— M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu entitles his "conférence," recently published in the *Réforme Sociale*, "Le Christianisme et la Démocratie." What he beholds is not a conflict between Church and State, between Pope and civil ruler, but between two hostile principles. This conflict filled the century that has closed, and it grows more embittered as the present century advances. Is it to be permament? Is it irrepressible? Or is it due to circumstances and causes of a local or temporary character, to claims that are not essential, to pretensions that cannot be justified? These questions he considers thoughtfully and broadly. The conflict in France, he asserts positively, is not merely between the Catholic Church and democracy: religion itself is involved. Such conflict does not take place at all times or in all countries. Democracy has prevailed for centuries in the most Catholic cantons of Switzerland, and we know the spirit in which the republics of New England were founded, and which has so influenced our own Government as to make it incomprehensible that it should manifest hostility to Christianity. It would seem, therefore, that the conflict is not between the essential principles of Christianity and democracy, but between particular manifestations or perversions of these influences, appearing especially in Europe. The essential doctrines of both are equality and fraternity; the causes of conflict must be temporary and accidental. These causes, M. Leroy-Beaulieu finds in the manner in which modern democracy was presented to the world, and the opposition which it encountered at its birth in the Christian churches or their clergy. European democracy springs from the French Revolution, and the Revolution was a product of the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Even if religion did not seem to be pure imposture, yet the philosophers of the eighteenth century could not help regarding it as a political institution, bound up with monarchy and aristocracy. Religion had an official place, its ministers were sustained by the Government. When privileges in general were attacked, those of the Church could not escape. The clergy, constituting the first of the orders of the State, even if they consented in the beginning to surrender some of their privileges, could not submit to degradation, and were infuriated by persecution. The historic antagonism between the Church and democracy in France is consequently natural, and the spirit of both is not very different from what it was a century ago. The clergy showed their disposition when the Bourbons were restored; the democracy has shown its feeling since the republic was established. Of course, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope has always been a stumbling-block. So long as this dogma is maintained, there must be danger of friction with the civil authority.

—A number of the *Figaro* published late last July contains "A Trip to Oxford: Paul Hervieu and the English Theatre." How these two topics hang together is not at first quite clear. The bare existence of such a thing as a theatre at Oxford is due to one of Jowett's boldest innovations, while the immemorial attempts at acting by Oxford undergraduates have no more bearing on the English theatre than undergraduate performances elsewhere. And yet the notable stage career of Mr. F. Benson, whose company has now for several years not only had great successes, but also has served as a school of acting in England, began with the performance of the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus at Balliol College in 1880. Thus a reader might have settled down to this interview in the *Figaro* expecting in a puzzled sort of way to hear Paul Hervieu's opinion of Mr. Benson. As a matter of fact the interviewer, M. Coudurier, gives nothing of the kind. Oxford serves him only as a sort of Platonic setting or frame for the dialogue of his theatrical interview with M. Hervieu, whom he joins in the Oxford morning express, finding the *Times's* theatrical critic, Mr. A. B. Walkley, in his company. M. Hervieu, having been induced to talk of the dramatic season just closing in London, said he had not seen Mr. Forbes Robertson at all. The vaudeville "Saturday to Monday," by Messrs. Fenn and Pryce, as interpreted by Mr. Vane Tempest and Miss Braithwaite, he admired, noting especially an irresistibly comic scene, in which appears "un trio bien anglais," consisting of a country clergyman and two old maids, his zealous coadjutors in good works. He greatly admired the novel plan and general *coup d'œil* of the Haymarket Theatre, especially its suppression of all "loges et baignoires" except those next the stage. A caricatured Frenchman in Mr. Henry A. Jones's "The Liars," and one in another play, impersonated by Mr. Cyril Maude, leads M. Hervieu to remark that a year or two of the *entente cordiale* must transform alike the ridiculous Frenchman of the English stage and the red-haired Englishman with long teeth dear to French playrights. Both these types he pronounces to be "d'un comique peu nécessaire," and goes so far as to predict their speedy disappearance. One more fundamental difference between the English and the French point of view came out in M. Hervieu's further account of "The Liars." He speaks of certain sentimental hints, such as the very obvious sympathy which the playwright wishes his audience to feel for the husband as opposed to the lover," and declares all this to be flatly opposed to the tendency of the French theatre. No length of duration for the *entente cordiale* is likely to bring the French point of view nearer to the English, it would seem. The stage setting and costuming of Mr. Beerbohm Tree's "Darling of the Gods" M. Hervieu praised enthusiastically, especially noticing his management of stage crowds. But soon he lights upon the constant recurrence of red in Mr. Tree's various settings, and attributes it to a national and traditional instinct.

—Dr. Claes Annerstedt, who has just retired from the position he has filled for twenty-one years as librarian of Upsala University, may be considered the real creator of his institution in the likeness of a modern library. During his incumbency the books have been reclassified and recatalogued after scientific methods, the building remodelled and stacks and galleries introduced, as well as a reading room, the latter provided with a special collection of reference books. The book fund has been increased, the staff enlarged, and the salaries raised. Everything possible has been done, with the small funds at the Library's disposal, to make the rich collections of books and manuscripts available to students, particularly to those connected with the University. One of Dr. Annerstedt's most important undertakings has been the development of the Library's exchanges with other institutions, in which work he has been most ably assisted by Dr. Aksel Andersson, for many years an amanuensis at the Library, now one of the vice-librarians, till now more than 1,300 universities and learned societies in all parts of the world regularly exchange publications with Upsala. Outside of Sweden and of library circles Dr. Annerstedt is best known as the historian of the University. The first volume of his 'Upsala Universitets Historia,' with its accompanying volume of documents, was published on the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary in 1877. The author's official duties as librarian have hitherto prevented him from completing the work, but it may be hoped that he will now have leisure to do so. Among his other writings may be mentioned a history of the University Library down to 1702, and the editing of Olof Rudbeck's correspondence regarding the University, accompanied by a very interesting introduction. At the two-hundredth anniversary of Rudbeck's death, in 1902, he delivered the official oration in the name of the University. His eminent capacity as a writer and orator was recognized by the Swedish Academy when that body, a couple of years ago, elected him one of its eighteen members.

THE MOORISH EMPIRE IN EUROPE.

History of the Moorish Empire in Europe. By S. P. Scott. In three volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1904. Pp. xlii., 762; x., 686; x., 696.

Estudios Críticos de Historia Árabe Española. Por Francisco Codera de la Real Academia de la Historia. Colleccion de Estudios Árabes, VII. Saragossa. 1903. Pp. xvi., 376.

One of the most absolute gaps in the history of mediæval Europe lies across the Spanish peninsula. Scarcely is there any other European country the history of which is so uncertain, obscure, and practically unwritten during so long a time. From the Arab conquest at the beginning of the eighth century, through the Muslim domination, which may be said to have lasted till the defeat of the Almohades at Las Navas in 1235, and down through the lingering reconquest which ended only in 1492 with the fall of Granada, the student is still groping in a darkness that is but slowly clearing. Separate studies of periods, incidents, localities, personalities, are the need of to-day; of connected history, still more of the popularizer, it is still absurd to speak.

The cause of this is simple enough. The Gothic civilization went down before the Arab and Berber lances. For at least five centuries the most trustworthy records were made and histories written in Arabic

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and not in Latin or Spanish. In Arabic they still remain, inaccessible save to the Arabist. The student of Spanish history must be able to use Arabic as easily as he uses any European language; all his most weighty documents are in that tongue. Of course it is a blunder for the student of any part of mediæval Europe to think that he can leave out of his reckoning the Muslim civilization, but in the case of Spain the blunder would seem simply impossible were it not for the existence of such a book as that whose English title stands above. The course, then, of the writing of Spanish history has been that of a gradual awakening to this fundamental fact and necessity—how gradual will be plain in the following details.

Not unreasonably, if somewhat unthinkingly, the first renaissance of European Arabic studies might have been expected in Spain, and not, as was the fact, at Rome, Leyden, and Oxford. But the heat of the long conflict, and especially of the last struggle for Granada, had been too intense; the ecclesiastical and theological bitterness had become too keen; above all, the grip of the Inquisition—the most astounding and effective single fact in Spanish history—was too crushing for Spanish scholarship, and that in the patriotic field of the national life, to take any cognizance of the unclean and diabolic letters of the Moors.' So it turned to chronicles, lying too often, if authorized by time and of a splendid picturesqueness; to royal records, fragmentary and biased; to plain romances, like that of the Cid; and to monastic charters—a mass of poetry, legend, and history with no clue through its labyrinth. Yet all the time the Arabic records were lying there, plain, straightforward, full, and fairly truthful. To these, then, in 1760, Casiri opened the way, in his ponderous, labored, and detailed but untrustworthy and badly planned catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the library of the Escurial. The beginning was feeble, but still his was the honor of that first step which counts. In 1787 came a second advance, but in another direction. The great twenty-volume critical history of Masdeu appeared, and a destructive attack on the authenticity of many fundamental Spanish and Latin documents began. To this over-skepticism on one side was now to be added on another an enormous mass of reputed facts which very emphatically were not "so." In 1820 appeared the 'Historia de la Dominación de los Árabes en España' of Conde, epoch-making in a most unhappy sense. Published posthumously, it is in great part a compilation from the fragmentary and uncorrected materials of the author. This can be the only defence of his memory; as to his book, Dozy's verdict cannot be impugned, "Quidquid attigeris, ulcus est!" Yet after him all followed; to his words all swore. Although his knowledge of Arabic seems to have gone little beyond the alphabet, and his translations are simple guesses, for thirty years he represented for all, and still does for very many, the sum of the contribution which Arabic could make to the history of Spain.

At last the air was cleared and the way finally opened by the labors of a Dutch scholar and Arabist, Rheinhart Dozy. His work consists roughly in the publication of a number of Arabic texts bearing on the history of Spain, of 'Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-Âge,' first published in 1849, and of a four-volume 'Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne' (1861), which, for its period (A. D. 711-1110), is still the only trustworthy treatment in a Western language. Yet all of these, it has to be remembered, are purely pioneer work, though of the first quality, and the 'Histoire' is a delightfully written popular sketch. Since Dozy's time, a small group of native Spanish Arabists have been zealously at work following in his traces. At first, as was right, they gave themselves more to the publication of Arabic texts, and ten volumes of a "Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana" have appeared; one hundred would not exhaust those bearing directly on Spain. But of late, feeling apparently the necessity of popular interest and support, they have turned to the use of these materials, and little volumes and shorter studies are constantly appearing, blazing new paths through that tangled period. With it all, it is strange to observe against what odds this little band of Arabists has still to contend, and how the centuries of warfare with the Moors have hardened into other centuries of silent indifference to their remains. Not even yet is it necessary that the holder of a Spanish chair of history should know some Arabic, and the unhappy influence of Conde is still a force to reckon with. But the work begun by Dozy is going on, although we are still far from the time when any scholar, however learned and laborious, can essay a complete history of the Muslim period in Spain. Far too many texts are still to publish; too many preliminary investigations are still to carry out. And, whenever his time may come, the first necessity in him will be a thorough knowledge of Arabic and familiar acquaintance with Muslim life and thought. He must be, as was Dozy, that almost impossible compound, a student of mediæval Europe and an Orientalist.

How stands it, then, with Mr. Scott? His book covers over twenty-two hundred large octavo pages. It has a sparsely printed index of twelve pages. At the head of each chapter two bounding dates are given; these are almost the only ones in the whole book. From beginning to end there is not a single note or reference to source or authority. In the case of a popular handbook dwelling with a well-trodden field, on which there are standard reference books easily accessible to any one, such a course may be excusable. But in the case of a professedly authoritative history written in the grand style and dealing with the most obscure and unworked field in all the history of Europe, such a course means suspicion in the reader and second-hand incompetence in the writer. Mr. Scott, throughout the book, writes as though his history had been "sent down" to him, like the Qur'an, through the angel Gabriel. But at the beginning we are given twenty-six pages of "Authorities Consulted." These are arranged according to language, and a reading knowledge is asserted of English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Langue d'oc and Langue d'oil, Limoisin and Catalan, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic. This is excellent and is undoubtedly a competent equipment. The list itself, however, is hardly so satisfactory as the linguistic display. In the first place it has been compiled and printed with the most astonishing carelessness. It absolutely swarms with misprints; its proof has evidently been read by someone totally ignorant in Mr. Scott's array of tongues. And, in the second place, the "authorities" are of a mixedness quite peculiar.

On the first page of this list stand: Anderson—*History of Commerce*, London, 1789; Arnold—Ishmael; Beattie—Castles and Abbeys of England; Cutts—Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages; Davenport-Adams — Witch, Warlock and Magician; Davenport—An Apology for Mohammed; D'Israeli — Curiosities of Literature; and several others whose claims to be authorities on this or any other subject are much less than doubtful. The list, in fact, is absurd throughout, and any undergraduate who ventured to give it as "literature" with his thesis might look for a very bad quarter of an hour. Yet with the Hebrew and Arabic the matter becomes more serious. When an edition of the Talmud Babli in the original Hebrew is quoted—it must be that of Amsterdam, 1644-8, by Imman Benveniste, though it is put impossibly under Surenhusius—a claim to first-hand knowledge of Hebrew is made; and when Arabic editions and MSS. are given—it is a detail that one is said to be a MS. of the twelfth century and is ascribed to Ibn Khaldun, who died in 1406—we look for Arabic scholarship. So it is not seemly that the title of Maimonides's great work, 'The Teacher of the Perplexed,' should be rendered 'The Guide of Lost Spirits' (iii, 143), with a mistake besides in the Hebrew, that "Hebrew and pilgrim are derived from the same root" (iii, 125); and that Abu Harushma (?), a name given to Nachmanides, is translated "Father of Wisdom" (iii, 147). Nor is it well for an Arabist to explain Almoravides as meaning 'Wearers of the Veil' (ii, 199); to give a string of names so variously transliterated, contorted, and misprinted as at iii, 506; to derive mulatto from *muwallad;* to spell "lonilion" and render it 'pearl' (iii, 654); to transform "jami'a" into Djalma, *passim* (the origin of this form is mysterious; in Spanish it would be "Aljama" and in French "Djame'a," but whence "Djalma?); to write "Al-Nassir-al-Din-Allah" (i, 586) and "Madhi" for Mahdi (i, 581), and "Muraddin" for Murtaddun; not to recognize "Ajem" (i, 538); to continue "Abd al-Ruf"—probably for Ra'uf (i, 485); to make out of *Harami,* a robber, the proper name of a "famous brigand" (i, 21); to discover "that the words altar and talisman are practically synonymous in Arabic" (i, 37).

Nor, when we turn from linguistic matters, is our feeling of confidence increased, Mr. Scott makes grave use of the Gospel of Barnabas (i, 77), that very mediæval apocryphon, and takes occasion to explain that Mohammed means "illustrious." He conjectures that because the Qur'an begins with its longest chapters and ends with its shortest, "the reverse order in which they were revealed"(?), "it may have been at first written in some language other than Arabic, and in which the characters were read from left to right" (i, 105)—a sequence of thought which is more than mysterious. He tells us that the Hijra as an era was not publicly authorized till the tenth century (what he means by this is out of guessing; it raises the question whether he

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has ever read an Arabic chronicle); that cards were known to the Arabs long before the Hijra (iii, 662); that there are no women saints in Islam (i, 119); that it was the philosophical ideas of India that Averroes had mastered and embraced (iii, 466, 474)—we can imagine with what indignation he would have rejected this slight to his great teacher, Aristotle.

But most characteristic of all for Mr. Scott's historical equipment and insight is the wholeheartedness with which he has accepted Dozy's fantastic hypothesis of the Hebrew origin of the Ka'ba and its ritual. This he takes as "proved" (i., 32, 37-40), and all the other investigations of the origins and history of the Hebrews and of early Arabia have gone past him like the wind. "Not improbable" for him, too, is it that a certain "northern division" of migratory population, of which we are said to learn from the Himyarite inscriptions, "were the Canaanites expelled by the sword of Joshua" (i., 18). All this must make the historical student gasp, but it is an exact sample of Mr. Scott's method. Anywhere, in a multifarious reading, mostly in antiquated and useless books, he finds a statement which suits him. It he promptly draws out and incorporates. So, he has discovered the idea of Arabic influence on the Book of Job. That becomes, in his large language, "The Book of Job, which has no apparent connection with the rest of the Scriptures, has been pronounced by competent critics a translation of an Arabic poem" (i., 50). But this method itself is ruled by the dominance of certain fixed ideas. The word Arab produces an ecstasy of wonder and admiration; the word monk, a fit of stately fury. "How lofty is the genius of the Arab race," we hear again and again; they studied and translated all literatures, "Persian, Chaldaic, Hebrew, Chinese, Hindu, and Sanskrit" (Mr. Scott delights in such beadrolls of names); "their energy exhausted every source of knowledge" (iii., 465); "modern science unquestionably owes everything to their genius" (iii., 532). But the monks! These unfortunates are not responsible for palimpsests only; they invented also the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament. "The ancient manuscripts of the Gospels—perhaps destroyed for sinister reasons—have left no data for speculation as to their contents; but it is not unreasonable to at least surmise that the originals did not offer the glaring examples of inelegant diction and barbaric idiom that deface the modern versions" (i., 122; cf. 74). And so the trail of the monks brings all mediæval Christendom under the ban. Mr. Scott fairly revels in that remarkable myth—or, at best, survival in folk-lore—the *jus primæ noctis* (iii., 387), and Pope Joan has, with him, the most respectful treatment (iii., 330, *ff.*).

After this, it may seem hardly necessary to deal further with Mr. Scott's history. Yet one thing has to be said for him: he follows his Dozy faithfully. For the period with which it deals, Dozy's 'Histoire' is his guiding thread, although he adds to it an enormous mass of very dubious material from other sources, and adorns the whole with characteristic outbreaks on Arabs and monks, and with diverse flowery passages. Of these one specimen—*ex pede Herculem:*

"The prelate sighed for the cloister, reluctantly abandoned for the camp at the command of the Holy Father, and longed to return to the scenes of wassail—to the gay hunting parties in the forest; to the festive board, with its convivial and unclerical guests, its appetizing dishes and sparkling wines; to the embraces of those beautiful companions who, chosen for their rare fascinations, whiled away, behind the walls of palace and monastery, the leisure of the epicurean bishop with Oriental dances and with the lively notes of lute and castanet" (ii., 327).

Considering all which, the reader had better take his chance with Dozy's charming sketch; there he knows the ground on which he stands.

Yet again it may be said for Mr. Scott that he has perceived, though dimly and with most perverse solution, the three great problems for us in the history of Islam. First, why were the raids of the Muslim Arabs followed by so magnificent, if ephemeral, outbursts of civilization, literature, and science? Mr. Scott replies, The Arab genius. With that we need not trouble. These civilizations, beyond the first century or so, were not Arab. Secondly, why the decay and downfall in every case? Mr. Scott's solution—apart from Christian malignity, which would insist on recovering the territory of which it had been robbed (ii., 596, etc.)—seems to be that the Muslims quarrelled too much among themselves. That is true; but it is also a pretty severe arraignment of this glorious civilization that it was lacking in the one essential of good government; nor does it by any means adequately explain what is a persistent phenomenon throughout the Muslim world. Thirdly, what did the Muslim civilization do for Europe? Mr. Scott says Everything. We may seek a less sweeping solution.

Towards that solution, and on the kindred problems, Professor Emeritus Francisco Codera and his pupils have been working for several years. Notice has already been taken in these pages of the work of this school, and especially of one product, the suggestive and promising 'Algazel' of Sr. Asín Palacios, the successor of Sr. Codera in the chair of Arabic at Madrid. Now, in the present little volume, Sr. Codera has collected sixteen studies—reviews and independent notes—on the Arabic history of Spain, with a pointed but somewhat sorrowful prologue on the future of such investigations in that country. The studies are precisely of the kind needed; they correct much that has been falsely stated, and clear up much that has been obscure; to the historian in the broad, when he comes, they will be invaluable. Naturally, there is little to say of such a book as compared with Mr. Scott's remarkable performance. All it calls for is hearty commendation and good wishes to its author and his pupils and followers in their hard fight. They will have large part in the solution of the three problems.

The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford. Chronologically arranged, and edited with notes and indices by Mrs. Paget Toynbee. Vols. V.-VIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1904.

These four new volumes bring Walpole's correspondence up to May, 1774, and the number of letters to 1,539, against 1,435 in Cunningham's edition. The number of the letters in these later volumes now printed for the first time is twenty-two. None are of first-class interest, although one, addressed to Madame du Deffand on July 16, 1766, and relating to the quarrel which Rousseau vainly tried to force upon Hume, would be a document of much value if the particulars were not already notorious. It is incomplete, existing only in the copy made by Madame du Deffand's secretary, who transcribed merely the part relating to Rousseau. The Newcastle and Hardwicke papers, recently acquired by the British Museum, have been laid under contribution. There is an interesting letter to the second Lord Hardwicke, declining to show a proof of the continuation of 'Anecdotes of Painting,' for a reason honorable to Walpole:

"There is an unfortunate page or two in my book which would hurt a person now living, though I thought I had guarded with the utmost care against any such case. My dread of offending even near relations of very indifferent artists has long obstructed the completion of the work, and has kept it back, though printed off for some time."

Two letters to Walpole's constant butt, the Duke of Newcastle, exhibit him on civil terms with that nobleman, and making a promise which a companion letter to Lord Hertford proves him to have redeemed. Another letter, probably to Lord Egremont, shows him as actually doing something for his country, by forwarding a passage he has met with in Lord Sandwich's letters from Lisbon in Charles the Second's time respecting the influence of climate on military operations in Portugal, where England (1762) was sending an auxiliary force. It would appear that April and May were then considered the only months in which it was possible for an army to keep the field—a happy dispensation for the Portuguese! The most interesting of the new letters, however, are perhaps the four addressed to Sir. Horace Mann, which have somehow escaped the collection hitherto, though one exists in a transcript by Walpole himself. This is remarkable for a consolation on disappointment with respect to an inheritance, conveyed with infinite grace and *esprit*. The other three relate to the vexations brought upon Walpole by the insanity of his nephew and the consequent dilapidation of the family estate. A gleam of Walpolian humor breaks out even here: "Justice Fielding has revived the hypothesis of the 'Beggar's Opera' making all our rogues. Garrick has in a manner given it up, but they continue it at Covent Garden—so we shall have but half the number."

On the whole, the attentive study of this correspondence must raise Walpole's character. His very limitations help him; had he been cast in a more heroic mould he would have been a less competent representative of the society which it was his especial mission to depict. He represents the culture of the eighteenth century, as it appeared to itself, with such spirit and cleverness that we forget for the time what a contracted world is his, and how much is going on around him and working beneath him of which he has not the faintest suspicion. But if he cannot appreciate Franklin or Watt, or comprehend the American Revolution or foresee the French, he is quite at home with what after all it most concerns him to apprehend—his own circle. This he not only

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understands but incarnates; to know one is to know the other. What Chesterfield sets forth didactically, Walpole exhibits in action. There is a remarkable harmony and completeness in his figure, as the representative not of a period of transition, but of one which after long struggle had arrived at what it finally deemed a period of perfection, an age of settled views and approved maxims, whose political and social codes were made up. The period when he was chiefly productive has been characterized by Matthew Arnold as the golden age of the British aristocracy; and we find Walpole saying in 1762 that he has long beheld the increasing power of the press with concern, and that nothing but the Crown can reduce its exorbitance. His letters, in so far as they relate to politics, give perhaps as lively a picture as can be found of a country governed by good society, tempered by the right and power of the people to bring in a dictator, as in Chatham's case, when aristocratic inefficiency became too scandalous. Walpole himself formulates this idea when he says, speaking of Oliver Cromwell, "If we must be ridden, let it be by one who knows how to ride."

Next to social gossip and politics, the most prominent element in this portion of Walpole's correspondence is the antiquarianism which has been ridiculed as mere dilettantism, but was in reality no unimportant sign of the times. The reaction towards styles in both literature and art which the reigning taste had long pronounced obsolete, indicated, no less clearly than the direct utterances of thinkers and reformers, the consciousness that the age needed regeneration. It is not likely that Walpole had any definite ideas on this subject, and neither his Gothic architecture nor his Gothic romance contributed greatly to the Gothic revival. But the large share which similar interests occupied in his mind appears from the ample space allotted to them in his letters; the more remarkable as the correspondence does not proceed from one tied down to write upon particular topics, but from one wandering at pleasure over an ample field, and, with rare exception, touching upon those subjects alone which he finds entertaining to himself.

We have remarked already upon the necessity for a fuller annotation to this edition than the editor has as yet thought fit to bestow upon it. There is a salient instance in the letter to Lord Hertford of March 18, 1764 (vol. vi., p. 33):

"I forgot, too, to answer your question about Luther; and now I remember it. I cannot answer it. Some said his wife had been gallant. Some, that he had been too gallant, and that she suffered for it. Others laid it to his expenses at his election; others, again, to political squabbles on that subject between him and his wife—but, in short, as he sprang into the world by his election, so he withered when it was over, and has not been thought on since."

Ordinary readers will hear with stupefaction of Luther's matrimonial misadventures, his election to the English Parliament, and the decay of his credit and reputation with the British public. Mrs. Paget Toynbee could have told us, an she would, that the reference is to John Luther, an Essex squire, who obtained temporary notoriety by ousting the ministerial candidate from the representation of the county.

The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome. By Samuel Ball Platner. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 1904. Pp. xiv + 514; 9 maps and plans, 95 illustrations.

A few years ago there was hardly a college or university in America where formal instruction was given in the topography of ancient Rome. Now we have changed all that. The foundation of an American School of Classical Studies in Rome has quickened the call for proper preparations for study on the spot of extant remains and earlier conditions; the discoveries made by recent excavations have aroused popular interest; and bright young students who have worked in Rome under the auspices of the new School have returned to this country eager to teach others the rudiments of the subject of which they have begun to learn something themselves.

This new awakening is doubtless responsible for the publication of Professor Platner's work, which is, we believe, the first handbook of the subject written by an American, though Professor Lanciani's five books in English have found a wide acceptance from their publication in this country, and the treatises of a number of Englishmen are well known. Of work in other languages we are not now speaking. Mr. Platner's book follows in general scheme and scope the 'Topographie der Stadt Rom' of Otto Richter, and in many respects his conclusions, though he has corrected sundry errors made by Richter even in his second edition. He professes also his great obligations to Professor Hülsen of the German Archæological Institute in Rome, though, it may be remarked, he does not follow Hülsen, or even mention his views, on all points; as, for example, in the identification of the gate at the summit of the Clivus Argentarius as the Porta Fontinalis, and in the suggestion that not the two-feet-square tufa blocks of the fragmentary "muro di Romulo" at the western corner of the Palatine, but a structure of smaller stones within them, may be part of the earliest Palatine wall. Another important point in which Mr. Platner differs from Hülsen is in accepting without question (p. 13) the statement that the Alban hut-urns were found under a layer of peperine. We notice, also, no mention of the theory that the existing remains of the Servian wall and *agger* all date from a restoration of the fourth century B. C. (Liv. vi. 32, 1, 2: vii., 20, 9), though this theory is mentioned for the Palatine fortification.

Richter's plan was exceedingly clear and constructive, and Mr. Platner has probably done well to follow it in a summary work like this, though it involves some repetition. The care with which all the most recent literature of the subject has been examined and cited up to the time when the book went to press, and the helpfulness of the plans and illustrations, is worthy of all praise and gratitude. Of course the excavations in and about the Forum and the Ara Pacis have marched ahead since the copy was completed, but it is a necessary corollary of advancing knowledge nowadays that scientific books should be in some details out of date about as soon as written.

It is a matter of some little surprise to us that Richter's theory of a Palatine-Septimontium-Four Regions-Servian development, in that easy chronological order, should have been so readily accepted as seems to have been the case. Mr. Platner follows it without a suggestion of the complex difficulties it creates. But it has the merit of being very straightforward and easy to grasp (if only the *advocatus diaboli* is not allowed a hearing), and, after all, no other theory can any more reasonably hope to reconcile all the questions of doubt. May we suggest here that as the organization of the city as four tribes, together with the construction of the first great ring-wall, is ascribed by tradition to the same period, there may be a possibility that the original "Servian" wall did not include the Aventine at all? Its long exclusion from the *pomerium* would thus be no puzzle. The inclusion of both Aventine and the wedge-shaped area on the northeast of the Four Regions within the fourth-century wall and *agger* would be due to the later conditions of settlement. (Even Mr. Platner holds that the Aventine had originally fortification-walls of its own.)

Mr. Platner, with many others, believes in the existence of *opus incertum* as a definite sort of wall-facing. But we are inclined to think that Vitruvius (our sole authority) understood nothing more by it than what we should call unfaced concrete. Yet we are bound to admit that certain early concrete walls show a more careful and uniform arrangement of the stones (at least on the outer surfaces) than in the usual stratified structure, and yet do not approach *opus reticulatum* in character. Mr. Platner also perpetuates an oft-repeated error in his remark (p. 23) that Gabine stone "withstands fire excellently." But Tacitus says this of peperine in general, Alban as well as Gabine (Ann. XV. 43: *saxo Gabino Albanoue solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus imperuius est*), and, furthermore, says it clearly in contrast to not only wood (cf. *sine trabibus*), but a common building-stone of the time, travertine, which was readily calcined by fire. Nero was anxious to secure a slow-burning construction, and his direction was that not wood, but stone, should be used in certain parts of the new buildings, and that this stone should not be the sort that would crumble at the touch of flame. Neither Gabine nor Alban stone need, then, be characterized particularly as "fireproof," though it might well be pointed out that the great destruction caused by fires in imperial Rome was largely due to the use of travertine and marble.

Now and then we find, as almost of necessity, some slight inconsistencies. It is not easy to see how Sulla's *pomerium* can be said (p. 68) to have "coincided in general with the Servian wall," when Aventine and pseudo-Aventine were still excluded from the *pomerium*. Since Mr. Platner accepts Wissowa's doctrine of the Sucusa, he probably should not say (p. 437) that the *turris Mamilia* was in the Subura. On page 71 Mæcenas is said to have converted into a public park the Esquiline cemetery; on page 51 he is said (doubtless on the authority of Horace, Sat. I., 8, 14, 15) to have so transformed the Servian *agger*. It might have been well to make it clear that only one region and operation is referred to. The *agger* became an airy and sunny promenade, like the walls of Lucca, perhaps with *Anlagen*, while much of the adjacent district was turned over to residences (Hor. *l. c.*; Vit. Elag., 30, 4). On page 119 it might have been well to mention that

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the gate in the wall of Aurelian just south of the prætorian camp was closed before the time of the Einsiedeln itinerant; otherwise the interpolation of the mention of it among gates built up in the sixteenth and later centuries might lead the beginner to infer that it also was open through mediæval times. Furthermore, the trumpets from the temple at Jerusalem, figured on the Arch of Titus, were of silver, and not of gold (Numbers 10, 1 ff.).

Such a book as this is one of the most difficult to keep free from typographical errors, especially in the numberless citations of literature; but it seems to be unusually excellent in this respect. We have noticed only a few such errors, and they not of a seriously misleading character. "Above," on page 112, line 14, is doubtless a slip of the pen for "below," since the author surely does not mean that the cliff was scarped above the wall-shelf. Just beneath we notice the frequent, but unjustifiable, use of "perpendicular" for "vertical."

In a book of such complexity of subject we might find much more material for discussion, but none that would impair our gratitude to the author for an extremely laborious, painstaking, and useful piece of work.

The Heart of the Orient: Saunterings through Georgia, Armenia, Persia, Turkomania, and Turkestan, to the Vale of Paradise. By Michael Myers Shoemaker. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904.

In a gossiping but interesting style the author of this volume takes us from Constantinople through the Black Sea and Transcaucasia along the beaten paths to Baku, and thence over the less familiar way leading to the south end of the Caspian Sea, and to Teheran, the capital of Persia. Returning to Baku, we cross the Caspian Sea, and follow the Transcaspian road to Andizhan, stopping at the most important places, and thence cross the mountains to the vicinity of Kashgar. Thus little ground is covered that has not repeatedly been gone over by other travellers. Nevertheless, the volume is of special interest at the present time by reason of the many observations of the author bearing upon the relations of Russia to the complicated affairs of Central Asia.

It is now only thirty years since Russia occupied Western Turkestan, but the transformation which has already taken place within that time is marvellous. The older portions of Askabad, Merv, Samarkand, Tashkend, and numerous smaller cities are, indeed, still unkempt and filthy in the extreme; but in every case there has grown up beside them a Russian settlement which is a model of neatness and order, where trees, watered by the irrigating streams, line the carefully laid-out streets, while churches, schools, museums, bathhouses, and tasteful residences combine to make the conditions of life exceedingly attractive. The strictness with which the Russian officials insist on seeing one's passports, instead of causing annoyance, should rather give the traveller a sense of relief, since it is an assurance that all suspicious characters are carefully looked after. Thirty years ago it was at the imminent risk of life that any European visited this region, while now, thanks to the Russian Government, nowhere is life safer than here.

The typical case of Russian cruelty in warfare occurred in the taking of Geok-Tepe by Skobeleff, in 1880. The importance of the occasion is kept in remembrance by means of a military museum close by the railroad station, in which are found many paintings descriptive of the terrible scenes of the capture. From all accounts it would seem that the slaughter was indiscriminate; several thousand of both sexes, including even children, being put to death, both outside and inside the walls. Altogether the scenes were such as to inflict an everlasting stigma upon the Russian name. On the other hand, it is proper to note that Gen. Skobeleff, in a remarkable degree, retained the respect of all the tribes of Central Asia, and was indeed the most successful of all Russian generals in governing the people and securing their general good will; so that even these Turkomans who were the object of the slaughter have been the first of the native races to be trusted with arms by the Russians. Preëminently in an irrigated country, a strong and just government is necessary to protect the rights of the various classes of people dependent upon the limited supply of water. Merv was ruined by the Khivans by the diversion of the water of the Murgab from the oasis which supported the city; tens of thousands of Persians, held in slavery, were liberated by the advance of the Russians when Khiva was taken. The Tekke Turkomans were ruthless in their disregard of the rights of others, and fanatical in their opposition to everything which would interfere with their despotic sway. Skobeleff's method of dealing with them was certainly effective, and all the people have rejoiced ever since; for the Russians, when their enemies are once subdued, do not rule with a specially heavy hand.

The Collected Mathematical Papers of James Joseph Sylvester. Volume I. Cambridge (Eng.) University Press; New York: Macmillan.

We receive with delight this first instalment, a beautiful and comfortable volume closely matching in outward appearance Forsyth's 'Theory of Functions.' It contains Sylvestor's work from 1837 to 1853. At this moment, when the chill of senility begins to be perceptible over the very formalistic mathematics that has been and still is in vogue, the virile genius of Sylvester needs to be more fully appreciated. Doubtless there are many memoirs more significant than his and of broader conceptions; but we doubt if there be any whose thought has the peculiar mathematical quality in a higher degree. There are more flawless gems of mathematical workmanship, there are papers of more perfect polish in their execution; but we are strongly inclined to think that there are none quite so instructive in the heuretic art, partly for the very reason that these have not been so finished as to conceal the brush-marks, partly because of the personal originality and singularity with which they are stamped, and partly because Sylvester's garrulity led him almost constantly to tell how he came by his ideas. It would be well worth the while of a student of methodeutical logic to take up the theory of invariants, just for the sake of comparing the ways of thinking of Cayley and Sylvester, as exhibited nowhere so well as in this volume, with those of Clebsch, Gordan, etc.

Sylvester's habit of throwing his whole being—or only sparing to poetry and sentiment their strictly necessary aliment—for long year after year into the development of a single system of ideas, while recording his progress every two or three months (every month, in his most active years), renders this collection instructive beyond measure. Nor is the interest exclusively mathematical. Logical remarks of value are constantly occurring, and other philosophical suggestions are not rare. In one place we read, "Universal geometry brings home to the mind with an irresistible conviction the truth of the Kantian doctrine of locality." Verily, metaphysics is the Paris of the intellect: no sooner do the most scrupulously severe reasoners find their feet on this ground than they give the loosest reins of license to their logic. Universal geometry can testify concerning no other Space than its own, which is a space, not of three, but of an indefinite number of dimensions; and nothing is more striking in this generalized geometry than that it is decidedly easier for the human mind to comprehend a space of four dimensions than one of three. Give a higher geometer sixty days to accustom himself to a four-dimensional space, and he would be ever so much more at home there than he ever can be in this perverse world. Meantime, the dynamics of rotations asserts downright that the rotational part of motion, at least, is not relative; and as for the body alpha, the epistemological difficulties of this disguise of the reality of space are too serious; and if the fixed stars, or the whole universe, be identified with the body alpha, the difficulties become downright absurdities. The only body alpha that epistemology can admit is the body of space itself. Meantime, even if one were to prove that three-dimensional Euclidean space is native to the mind, that would be no argument in favor of Kant's position that it is *merely* an affair of the mind. On the contrary, the proper presumption would be that, in view of the unity of the universe, if such space is native to the mind, probably it is native to the outer world of reality also.

The volume is not without glimpses of human nature. Lagrange's so-called demonstration of the principle of virtual velocities "is contrary alike to sense and honesty"—yes, that is the color of it, "albeit sanctioned by the powerful oral authority of an ex-Cambridge professor." One wonders how its case would have gone without that orally powerful sanction. As for Lagrange's proof, it appears to us that cavillers mistake the purpose of it. At any rate, it does convince all reasonable living doubters, for the reason that every man's experience has given him an instinctive and virtual knowledge that work always has to be paid for, which the proof of Lagrange either tacitly takes for granted, or, as we interpret it, supposes to have been expressly admitted for the case of one pair of blocks and tackle. But we must confess to not having looked into the immortal book for many a year.

In every way this publication is a precious benefaction to mathematical students,

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especially to those who have been treading too exclusively the boulevard of dominant ideas. The four earliest papers relate to the mathematics of physics. Then, for five years, from 1839 to 1844, Sylvester was occupied with elimination and multiple roots. Between 1844 and 1847 the editor, Mr. H. F. Baker, has found nothing. Has he searched Adrain's Diary? Three papers of 1847 relate to the integer equation—

$$x^3+y^3+z^3=Dxyz$$

The two following years are blank; but from 1850 to the end of the volume (1853) papers follow one another at an average rate of one every month. Here we find the Essay on Canonical Forms, well-known discoveries in Determinants, the "law of inertia," and the great memoir on syzygetic relations and Sturm's theorem, which last was the first of Sylvester's papers to be ushered in with a poetical motto. It is those lines, "How charming is divine philosophy," in which the Lord Chancellor so successfully disguised his detestation and disgust of all the philosophy of his day.

We shall endeavor to keep our readers apprised of the appearance of future volumes, and we hope to find fewer clerical errors in the next. A chronology of Sylvester's changes of place, travels, and, if possible, of his forming of mathematical acquaintances, would be of advantage.

The Religion of the Universe. By J. Allanson Picton, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1904.

It is now more than thirty years since Mr. Picton published 'The Mystery of Matter,' a book of very great ability, for which many readers were profoundly grateful because it seemed to show them a way through materialism in company with Science, never letting go her hand. Mr. Picton was then an Independent clergyman. Since then he has written a life of Cromwell, has been a member of Parliament, and has seemed to detach himself from his original ecclesiastical associations and religious interests; but it would appear from his present work that these are as vital for him as ever, and the voice which he obeys at eve is that which he "obeyed at prime," the voice of Herbert Spencer, as audible in that part of his writings which has been subjected to more adverse criticism than any other, the "Reconciliation of Religion and Science," introductory to his 'First Principles.' It gives a spice of special interest to Mr. Picton's book that it is based so confidently and cordially upon that part of Spencer's system which has been most generally decried, and about equally by those who have found his Unknowable Absolute a too negative denial, and those who have found it a too positive affirmation. For Mr. Picton it is a positive affirmation of a Reality whose finite phases may be known to both science and religion, but whose absolute totality is beyond the conception of either. He regrets, as many others have regretted, that Spencer took over from the orthodoxy of Hamilton and Mansel a term—the Unknowable—that was sure to subject him to wide misconception and abuse, and wishes that he had anticipated or adopted Matthew Arnold's favorite designation of "the Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," which was "the Eternal."

Whatever the importance of Mr. Picton's 'Religion of the Universe' as expounded in the middle and later portions of his book, he has certainly in one of the earlier chapters wrought an effective protest against those lucubrations of Messrs. Balfour and Mallock which, from the watery coldness of a universal skepticism, confidently extract the sunshine of comfortable acquiescence in the traditional creeds. In his rejection of these Mr. Picton is perfectly frank, while at the same time he contends that the ideal and spiritual implications of those creeds are not dissipated by a construction which is opposed to supernaturalism in every form and manner and degree.

His tone is not without occasional severity, when he is characterizing those who retain "the form of sound doctrine" from which the substance has been wholly taken away; but it is conceivable that certain critics of more sternly scientific temper than his own may find his difference from those whose honesty he questions one of degree only, and inconsiderable at that. Though denying personality to the Unknowable (which may, as Spencer said, be "more than personal"), he still prefers to name it God, to name his religion Christianity, and to find values corresponding to revelation, inspiration, etc., and properly so called, in the actual or possible conditions of the spiritual life. He writes pertinently of "that hereditary habit which provides a mould into which all our interpretations of the Bible run," a habit which "becomes set in early life"; and it is impossible to avoid a grave suspicion that some habit of this kind is illustrated by the conduct of his own mental processes. Is not the real energy of these more bent on saving from the wreck of opinion as much traditional sentiment as possible, rather than on freely working out the religion of the universe from the data of scientific acquisition?

What this religion means for Mr. Picton is more generally exhibited in three chapters, "The Unknowable or God," "Revelation," and "What may be Known of God," and more particularly in others, "Evil" as suffering and sin, "The Everlasting Gospel," "Christianity," "Experimental Religion," "Eternal Life," "Worship and the Church." "That being whom we name God," he says, "is not a greatest person separate from the universe, but the Universe itself." The obvious defect of this definition is that it is a roundabout way of saying nothing in particular; like Omar Khayyám, he comes out "at the same door wherein he went." The universe, by being deified, is merely named, not known; and its qualities remain, for distrust or admiration, exactly what they were before. In the chapter "What may be Known of God," he—that is, the universe—appears such that he might be described "as unknown though well known," and to be worshipped as known, not as unknown or unknowable. Mr. Picton's procedure here is more rational than his main contention, for it is only what we know of the universe or of God that justifies us in extending to either, as unknown, the favorable or unfavorable sentiments of our hearts. It is true that Mr. Picton insists that his God is not the Unknown or the unexplored, but the Unknowable, the illimitable atmosphere of ignorance which invests everything that is, or can possibly be, known. But this Unknowable, as well as the Unknown, must take all the color of its significance from the soil of that field of cultivable knowledge in which we are appointed to work our whole lives long.

Particularly in the chapter on "Experimental Religion," but in many other places, Mr. Picton contends for the reality of a "cosmic emotion" of no paler hue than that excited by the traditional conceptions of the evangelical pietist. But while his own fervor is beyond question, it is hard to understand. The mere word "unknowable" seems to act upon him as a kind of charm, and to stir him to an exalted pitch of emotional satisfaction. In a yet more questionable shape appear his efforts to resolve the tragic side of life into agreement with an optimistic apprehension of God's "everything and more." He does not make the mistake so common with the pantheist and rhapsodist, and treat as negligible every painful aspect of the world, while recognizing every sweet and pleasant thing. But his disposition to think well of "things as they are" makes for too much complacency in his view of animal and human suffering. His special pleading, his minimizing of the tragic element, if more religious than the passionate revolt of others against this, is less human, and at certain points less moral. He does not compare favorably with Mill insisting, "I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that term to my fellow-creatures," or with Whittier crying plaintively,

> "The wrong which pains my soul below,
> I dare not throne above."

Apart from his optimistic pantheism Mr. Picton is evidently a man of generous sympathies and admirations, setting his face against the arrogant and selfish imperialism of the time. But he conceives that in such things mortal man may be more just than God without prejudice to God. "Against civilized races and their rulers the Tasmanians had certainly a claim for consideration, which was, we fear, too often cruelly ignored. But that does not in the least imply any injustice or cruelty in the laws of the universe which permitted their extirpation, for as towards the Infinite they could have no claim," etc. Surely here is another theophany of that convenient *deus ex machina* which, under the name of Destiny, has been so often invoked of late by bland apologists for public wrong.

Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen. By Jacob A. Riis. Illustrated. The Outlook Company. 1904.

The reception which a campaign biography such as this meets with is a fair gauge of the reading public to which it is addressed. It is as different from the old typical campaign biography of the *ante-Bellum Hispanicum* period as Mr. Roosevelt himself is from the typical candidate of that time. It is strenuous, it is loud, it is fervid, it is unmeasured, it is not logical. It is hoarsely enthusiastic, and is all pitched in one high, monotonous key of laudation, which, were there anything in literary or rhetorical tradition applicable to such an effort (and Mr. Riis clearly thinks that there is not), would be a rhetorical blunder. It seems sometimes as if the megaphone rather than the pen were being used. Granting everything

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that Mr. Riis says, it is over-emphasized to the point of exhaustion.

It is painful to observe that disrespectful critics, instead of carping, have contented themselves with laughing. We have wondered, in reading the book, whether it is destined to prove adapted to the prevailing American taste, for if it is, it is highly important, and helps to mark the beginning of a new politico-literary era. Mr. Riis, if his candidate is elected, will be the successful biographer of the dominant political set (or "push," we should perhaps learn to say), of which Mr. Roosevelt will be the great patriot, Mr. Lodge the leading statesman, and Mr. Shaw the financier and economist. Let the issue be what it will, Mr. Riis may congratulate himself on having done his work completely—he stands alone in the literature of an era, and can never be replaced or outdone.

What he says of Mr. Roosevelt as police commissioner is practically Mr. Riis's thesis throughout—"every rascal" is "his implacable enemy; the honest, his followers almost to a man." Consequently, the chances are at least ninety-nine in a hundred that any hostile critic is a rascal. The impenitent reader often feels, less that he is being enlightened or reasoned with, than that his cerebellum is "in chancery," and that Mr. Riis is pounding it for the sin of disagreement. If, after a little of this ministration, he falls to recognize in Mr. Roosevelt the great exemplar of the latter's "life-rule"—"It is better to be faithful than to be famous"—he may be sure that the fault is not the biographer's. It should not be overlooked that Mr. Riis was originally a Democrat. The zeal of converts is proverbial, though sometimes dangerous to those whom they join.

The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java. By Clive Day. The Macmillan Co.

In this book we have a shining example of conscientious and honest scholarship. It is a work that shows its limitations on the surface, for, so far as we can glean from its pages, the author has had no acquaintance through personal experience with the Javanese or their Dutch masters, nor does he seem to be at all familiar with the currents of thought and the atmosphere of reform in Holland. He has, so far as we can see, taken simply the testimony of the printed documents in the case, and from these has written a most interesting work. This is to be welcomed and appraised all the more by the seeker after facts, because, along with its unquestionable scholarship, there is the modesty of the true man of science, who will make no random guesses, and, when lacking proof, ventures on no positive assertions. Professor Day stands on the simple ground of trustworthy testimony. He has read long and carefully, and sifted the evidence as given in the Dutch literature, from the earliest works to the magnificent monograph of Dr. P. J. Veth, of which the third volume is now before us. He has not hesitated to read carefully the English books on Java. Indeed, it was the wide divergence between the descriptions of the Dutch policy in Java as current in English, and the facts as they appeared in the writings of Dutch historians and in the original documents, that prompted the author to write this book, which bids fair to be very useful to students of colonial affairs. He has read the famous novel 'Max Havelaar,' in which "Multatuli" exposed the iniquities of the coffee culture and trade and the severities practised on the Javanese by agents of the Dutch Government, and he makes merry over J. W. B. Money's 'Java; or, How to Manage a Colony.'

Dr. Day's text adheres closely to his purpose in view, which is simply to tell of the policy and administration of the Dutch, although he furnishes an introductory chapter on the native organization, giving therein a good account of the island and its people. He confesses the need which students have felt, even after Pierson's and Veth's masterly works, of an exact knowledge of Javanese conditions before the Dutch came, and of the native economic organization. It was not possible for the native rulers to preserve peace, and in many ways the state of society was like that of mediæval Europe, the general situation making a grand opportunity for the exercise of European influence. Yet the Dutch East India Company, which is described so fully and in such detail, had no intention at first of political conquest, and was led into expansion, both political and economic, against the desires of the directors. In only one part of the seventeenth century was the Company really prosperous, and the decline of its trade was due not merely to corruption among its officials, but also and chiefly to the competition of foreigners.

The Company succeeded better as a ruler than as a trader. After it fell it was but a few years before the British rule began, which, in turn, after a few years more, gave way to the Dutch restoration. Although King William I. of the Netherlands had interviews with Sir Stamford Raffles, who explained his reforming methods, a reactionary policy was followed, and the "culture system" of forced labor, which became such an engine of oppression to the natives, was begun. The home Government wanted money, and, like the rest of the European peoples, the Dutch considered that colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother country. The rich revenues obtained by grinding the Javanese were appropriated, without any disturbance of public or private conscience, to the building up of the Netherlands railway system. Briefly stated, the culture system was one of credit bondage, an exchange of future labor for present good. The Dutch found it in use as a native institution, and they utilized it to solve the labor problem. Yet the culture system was not only a moral wrong, inflicting unnecessary suffering upon millions of people, but in the long run was like African slavery with us, economically bad. Its reform was one of the great moral triumphs of our age.

In his concluding chapters on recent fiscal policy and the modern government and provincial administration, the author is clear and informing, sticking closely to his one purpose. Yet so far as he touches on recent home sentiment, he is hardly just to the facts in the case, and it is evident that a nearer acquaintance with the Dutch people and with the political history that led to the triumph of the Kuyper Administration in July, 1901, would have made his book more satisfactory. Rare qualities are needed in the Dutch officers who share with the Javanese the government; but though the administration is still far from having reached the ideal of perfection, yet the keystone of the government of Java is coöperation between the Dutch and native officials. Vast improvement has taken place within the past decade and notably within the last two years. This has happened because the conscience of the nation has been thoroughly awakened, and the idea established that the Javanese are the wards, not the serfs, of the nation. This happy result has been achieved not alone by statesmen and politicians, or by the writings of Douwes Dekker (whose book, 'Max Havelaar,' must not be too closely compared with Mrs. Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'), but through the direct and constant agitation of the subject of colonial reform by men of intense moral earnestness. The more humane treatment of the native of Insulinde, and especially of Java, has been insisted on by the people of the non-political or Independent churches, the "Christian Reformed" (from which come so large a proportion of our Dutch American immigrants) and the "Doleerende" churches led and organized by Dr. Abraham Kuyper, now the Premier of the kingdom.

Professor Day has not only made critical and scholarly use of his authorities, but has in quotation and proofreading shown remarkable accuracy. So far as we know, this is the only book in English treating of this subject which is worthy of entire praise. Nor does anything on the plan and in the spirit of this book exist in Dutch, so that Dr. Day's studies, being free from insular British prejudices, are sure of a welcome also in the Netherlands.

Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur. By Albert T. Clay, Ph.D. Philadelphia: Published by the Department of Archæology and Palæontology of the University of Pennsylvania. 1904.

In May, 1893, there were discovered at Nippur 730 inscribed tablets, unbaked, but made of a peculiar clay which dried almost as hard as ordinary baked tablets. These tablets proved to be business archives of a commercial family, extending over three generations, and dated in the reigns of three Persian kings—Artaxerxes I., Darius II., and Artaxerxes II. (only one in the reign of the last named). A selection of the tablets of the time of Artaxerxes I., 464-424 B. C., edited by Hilprecht and Clay, was published by the generosity of Mr. Eckley Brinton Coxe, jr., in 1898, as Volume IX. of Series A of Cuneiform Texts of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. A similar selection of the texts of the reign of Darius I., 424-405 B. C., 132 in all, copied in facsimile by Prof. Albert T. Clay, appears as Volume X. of the same series. This makes three volumes (I., IX., and X.) of the texts of the Babylonian expedition which have been published in eleven years, at which rate, considering the amount of material, it is not likely that the bulk of the inscriptions found by the American expedition to Nippur will be made accessible to scholars within half a century.

As in the preceding volumes of this series, each inscription is copied in facsimile with infinite labor, the effort being made to represent each peculiarity of writing on each tablet. In the present volume

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these copies are reproduced in seventy-two plates, in addition to which we have seventeen plates containing photographic reproductions of selected tablets, seal impressions, and Aramaic dockets, Babylonian wine jars, water wheels, etc. A transliteration and translation of selected texts, twelve in number, is furnished by Dr. Clay. Six years ago the general editor of the publications of the University of Pennsylvania expedition to Babylonia wrote: "A complete transliteration and translation of the texts here published will be found in Series C"; and the editor of this volume writes: "A complete transliteration and translation of these texts . . . are expected to appear in Series C." Up to date no volume of Series C has been published, and, so far as outsiders can judge, the prospects of immediate publication are not good. In the interests of scholarship, it is to be regretted that arrangements could not have been made by which texts might have been rendered accessible to scholars more rapidly, and transliterations and translations of the officially published texts furnished approximately at the same time with the texts themselves. The French expedition to Susa has shown what is possible in the rapid and scientific publication of results

The peculiar interest of the Murashû texts lies in the light which they throw on the daily life of the people through the commercial transactions recorded in them. The proper names of officials, witnesses, and places contained in these tablets give curious evidence of the great mixture of populations in Babylonia in the fifth century B. C., and hence in the introductory text especial attention has been given to the study of those names. We learn that there were settlements or colonies in or about Nippur of Ammonites, Hittites, Jews, Edomites, men of Hamath, Gaza, Ashkelon, and Heshbon. A large number of the names are of West-Semitic, and in many cases specifically Hebrew, origin. A concordance of these names is furnished, with notes on their origin and nationality. West-Semitic (that is, Aramæan and Canaanite) influence was very pronounced in the names on the tablets of the time of Artaxerxes I., published in Volume IX.; there is a marked increase of that influence in the tablets of the reign of Darius II., published in this volume. There is likewise an increase in the number of Aramæan dockets attached to the cuneiform tablets, showing, in the judgment of Professor Clay, that Aramæan was supplanting Babylonian as the language of general use in Babylonia itself, as it had already supplanted the various local languages and dialects in Palestine and the neighboring regions. With this conclusion the general editor, Professor Hilprecht, is not in agreement. He also differs from Professor Clay in regard to the formation of certain proper names, especially the interpretation of the suffix *iâma*. Professor Clay believes that this quite common suffix represents Yah or Yahu, a frequent component part of Hebrew proper names, standing for the special Hebrew name of God, Yahaweh—*m*, as often in Babylonian, representing a West-Semitic *u* or *w*. Hilprecht, on the other hand, regards this ending as practically meaningless, intended merely to give emphasis or extension to the word. Both find numerous Hebrew names on these tablets, evidence that a large colony of Jews was located at Nippur from the Captivity onward.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, Mather A. A First Latin Writer. American Book Co. 60c.
An Eighteenth Century Anthology. Boston: A. M. Caldwell Co.
Archbold, Anna, and Jones, Georgina. The Fusser's Book. Fox, Duffield & Co. 75c.
Baedeker, Karl. Italy from the Alps to Naples. Leipzig: Baedeker; New York: Scribners. $2.40.
Baldwin, James. Abraham Lincoln. American Book Co. 60c.
Bell, J. J. Jess & Co. Harpers. $1.25.
Britten, F. J. Old Clocks and Watches and their *Makers. 2d ed. London: Botsford; New York:* Scribners. $7.50 net.
Butterfield, C. W. History of George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and the Wabash Towns, 1778 and 1779. Columbus, O.: Fred. J. Herr.
Carter, H., and Newberry, P. E. The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV. London: Archibald Constable & Co.
Carter, M. H. Nature Study with Common Things. American Book Co. 60c.
Chamberlain, Wilbur J. Ordered to China. London: Methuen & Co. 6s.
Chancellor, Wm. E. Reading Lessons for Evening *Schools.—Studies in English for Evening Schools.* —Aritnmetic for Evening Schools. American Book Co. 30c. each.
Coleridge, S. T. Rime of the Ancient Mariner. Edited by Prof. G. E. Woodberry. American Book Co.
College Requirements in English, 1906-1908. American Book Co.
Conrant, Maurice. Okoubo. (Ministres et Hommes d'état.) Paris: Félix Alcan. 2.50 francs.
Cowell, George. Life and Letters of Edward Byles Cowell. Macmillan.
Crèquy, Marquise de. The French Noblesse of the 18th Century. E. P. Dutton & Co. $3 net.
Dawson, Thomas C. The South American Republics. Part 2. Putnams. $1.35 net.
Deland, Ellen D. Josephine. Harpers. $1.25.
Dexter, Prof. Edwin G. Weather Influences. Macmillan.
Dumont, E. The Great Frenchman and the Little Genevese. London: Duckworth; New. York: Putnams. $2.50 net.
Graham, Harry. Misrepresentative Men. Fox. Duffield & Co. $1 postpaid.
Granger, Edith. Index to Poetry and Recitations: A Practical Reference Manual for the Librarian. Teacher, Bookseller, Elocutionist, etc. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $5 net.
Hebrew Union College Annual. Cincinnati, O.
Kingsley, Charles. The Heroes. Macmillan. 25c.
Kinley, Prof. David. Money: A Study of the Theory of Exchange. Macmillan. $1.25.
Lemström, Prof. S. Electricity in Agriculture and *Horticulture. D. Van Nostrand Co. $1.50.*
Macaulay's Poems. Macmillan. 25c.
Macfarland, Rev. C. S. The Spirit Christlike. Boston: The Pilgrim Press.
Maxwell, Wm. H. Elementary Grammar. American Book Co. 40c.
Milton's Minor Poems. Edited by Mary A. Jordan. American Book Co.
Parker, Sir G. A Ladder of Swords. Harpers. $1.50.
Payne, Dr. Joseph F. English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 8s. 6d.
Pertwe, Ernest. The Reciter's Treasury of Prose *and Drama. London: Routledge; New York: Dut-*ton. $1.50 net.
Peters, Rev. John P. Early Hebrew Story: Its Historical Background. Putnams. $1.25 net.
Reed, Myrtle. The Master's Violin. Putnams. $1.50 net.
Rodrignes, J. C. Religioes Acatholicas no Brazil, 1500-1900: Memoria do 'Livro do Centennario' de 1900. 2d ed. Rio de Janeiro: Escriptorio do "Jornal do Commercio."
Shakspere's Henry V.—Romeo and Juliet.—Richard III. Edited by W. J. Rolfe. American Book Co.
Shakspere's Macbeth. Edited by Prof. T. M. Parrott. American Book Co.
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Taylor, A. E. Elements of Metaphysics. London: Methuen & Co.; New York: Macmillan.
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The Letters Which Never Reached Him. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.50.
Thwaites, Reuben G. Early Western Travels, 1748-1846. Vol. vi. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.
Toddy, Frederick. Radio-Activity: An Elementary Treatise. D. Van Nostrand Co. $3 net.
Wallach, Isabel R. Historical and Biographical Narratives. American Book Co.
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